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Youth and the Depression

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From the days of its birth the American school system has taught its pupils to be personally ambitious, individually selfish, and mutually competitive. The picture of a boy defying his environment and overcoming all obstacles to attain success at any price has been held before American school children as the highest example of individual achievement, to be emulated and followed. Biographies celebrated the victory of a boy against odds. Orators acclaimed him. Educators explained that their task was to teach students how to win in the fierce competitive race of life. From log cabin to white house, so ran the tale, and the child who did not have, as the phrase went, enough gumption to get out and make something of himself, was no better than a vegetable. Even during the most pristine days, however, this success story was not quite an accurate description of the progress of the average American, but it served as sort of an ideal, like the tales of Hollywood extras, which, while not entirely realized by everybody, was something to which all might aspire.

As an ideal it was perfectly suited to a pioneer country. The rapid territorial and commercial expansion of our nation in the nineteenth century made coöperation, once the Indian was subdued, unnecessary and impossible. The losses to be incurred by any one individual in any enterprise were seldom visited upon others. And when others were involved, the loss, as in the case of the Grant-Ward failure, was only temporary. New opportunities provided new wealth. A man broke at fifty, could still die, if not rich, comfortably well fixed. Throughout pioneer days the Americans were a nation of gamblers, losing today, winning tomorrow. With our great natural resources, our isolation from European politics and war, and the quality of our people, gains exceeded losses. The nation as a whole won. Individuals failed; there were many personal tragedies. Covered wagons started for California but their occupants died of hunger and thirst on the way. Manufacturing plants, established in towns the railroad passed by, closed, and the town died. Still our country seemed to succeed under this system.

And because it succeeded, superficial students of society saw in the system the cause of our success. Individualism, rugged individualism, became our credo. Writers sought to prove that in the competition of many for the ultimate victory of one all gained. Society was the real victor, they said, and no person questioned them.

Thus the ideals and practices of a pioneer expanding society were carried over into business, industry, and all affairs. They did not succeed so well here, but they offered an opportunity for certain ruthless men to grow rich and powerful by preventing effective organization of the small entrepreneurs. Soon these ideals were the defenders of entrenched privilege and vested interests. To teach or preach others became a form of intellectual treason.

And yet to continue to preach this tale of individual competition as a means of attaining social good seemed a form of intellectual dishonesty to some, even as early as twenty-five years ago. Men arose to challenge a system in which the strong were free to prey on the weak and the weak forbidden to complain. Trade unions sprang up, coöperative societies were formed. President Wilson sought the presidency on a program opposed to the old order and promising new freedom.

The war came, completely disrupting the orderly course of progress. The re-financing of Europe following the war created a false illusion of prosperity. For twenty years the old pioneer methods of competition and expansion, now credit rather than territorial, continued to succeed.

They continued to succeed, it is true, but they succeeded at the expense of national economic health and social well-being. Burdens of debt were accumulated beyond the capacity of the people to pay. When the piper began to demand his wages, not only our industrial and financial system but our educational institutions and homes were seriously disarranged. Always in times of economic stress the people who suffer most are the disorganized and helpless. And the most helpless and disorganized classes in America were the old who saw their savings swept away in the closing of banks and insurance companies, and the young who found no opportunity for the exercise of their talents.

Perhaps the greatest sufferers were youths. They had been trained for years to compete with each other for prizes held by adults. Now there were no prizes. There was not even competition. The doors of all opportunity were closed. Youth was ready for life's journey, but there was no place to go.

The majority stood around waiting. But they were many who could not wait indefinitely. They had no place to wait. Unemployment at home, the eviction of the family, their acceptance of relief and the thin life which they led on the dole forced the youths to leave home. They became migrants, drifting from city to city in search of work—any kind of work even for their room and board.

But work did not appear. Clothes soon wore out. A little reserve of cash became exhausted. Boys and girls found they were no longer migrants looking for work but vagrants dodging police, living in jungles, eating at missions, traveling in box cars. Soon a whole army of youths was on the road. A few social workers called attention to them. One or two educators commented upon the phenomena. But everybody was so concerned with personal difficulties that the plight of youths without homes and parents was forgotten.

THE STUDY OF THIS GROUP

Three years ago, I began studying this group. I lived with them at missions and met them at relief stations, traveled with them in box-cars, ate with them in jungles. My experiences and observations with statistical data are contained in *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*.¹ Here, I will merely outline the problem as it relates to the general youth problem and the economic situation.

We do not know the exact number on the road today, but it is increasing as youths are discharged from CCC camps and find no work. Temporarily, CCC camps checked the vagrancy problem. Now, they are aggravating it. Boys taken away from poverty-stricken homes and becoming accustomed to camp life do not care to return to the dreary surroundings of a home without a job. Life on the road and in transient camps offers an escape and the youths take it.

In practically all cases, the boys and girls are on the road because of hard times. A few went away for adventure, a few in order to avoid the consequences of acts, and one or two for love; but out of a number of 466, 387 were on the road as a result of the depression. The father was unemployed in 260 homes, and he had been unemployed for about a year and a half before the boy or girl had left home. There were, in addition, many youths who had no homes, or at best half homes. In 172 families, the father was dead; in 91, the mother. Divorce was much more common among this group than the general population. Almost one-fifth of the youths came from homes broken legally. Once divorce entered a home, it seemed to become habitual. There were 54 multiple divorces and several cases where the father or mother had been divorced five or six times.

There was the case of Lady Lou (so-called because of his delicate, refined features and his habit of blushing), a boy of thirteen. His biological father had married four times; his mother, six. The boy liked best—better than his natural parents who were too concerned with their new amours to care for their boy—his father's third wife and his mother's fourth husband. Unfortunately both of these persons had formed new attachments of their own. His mother's sixth and legal husband refused to support a child not his own. Lady Lou had then the choice of living with his father's fourth wife who hated him, of living with his mother's fifth, a drunkard in jail half the time, or taking to the road. He took to the road.

Omaha Red hated high school. The only happy days of his life were the ones he spent herding sheep in Colorado. Luella with her blue eyes and saucy air was going to marry Charley anyway as soon as she got older and he got a job, so what was the use of waiting. Frank had a butcher-knife fight with his stepfather. Fern "got wise" and took some money from a man.

The average boy or girl on the road left home only when economic forces compelled him or her to leave. The father lost work or was reduced to part-time pay. The youth decided to shift for himself. He left home to look for work.

¹ Thomas Minehan, *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934.

He found none but he found that by eating at relief stations, sleeping in box cars, begging at back doors for handouts, he could support himself.

It is true that he could not support himself in any style. Boys and girls on the road are invariably hungry, cold, and chronically tired. They walk ten to twenty miles a day, begging handouts, ducking railroad "bulls," flagging rides. Meals are few and irregular. If they stay at missions and relief stations, the young vagrants will be fed beans or stew and very little else. If they live in jungles, they may be fortunate one day in having an ample bucket of mulligan but next day they may go hungry. In mission or jungle, growing boys and girls engaged in vigorous outdoor activity day in and day out; they do not get enough to eat. Every boy or girl I met on the road was thin and underfed. At night they sleep in box cars or the floors of jails. Clothes become threadbare and ragged. Shoes are worn down until the youth is "skating on his uppers." Winter winds blow through old garments. Newspapers are wrapped around bodies and feet. Burlap bags are folded for head-covering. But the cold creeps through. Ears are frozen; heels nipped; hands cracked with masses of cold sores. Some contract pneumonia. All one winter night in the basement of an old warehouse, I lay near a boy whose breathing was a torturous rasp as he coughed and struggled for air in lungs that were rapidly filling with death spume. More than one young traveler since the depression has lost an arm or a leg in his efforts to board or jump from a moving train. Others have fallen between cars, and the coroner has picked up their pieces.

Those who escape physical injury and disease are yet exposed to the perils of moral degenerates. On the bottom, in the bread-line are not only society's economic unfortunates but also society's dregs. These men if they have any aim in life it is to convert others to their perverted sexual practices. They attempt to seduce lone youths with kindness. When kindness fails, they use force luring a boy into a deserted corner of the railroad yards some dark night or a girl into a building.

The problem of vagrant youth, serious as it is, is but a part of the whole youth problem in America. Homes can be just as barren as box cars. Boys and girls suffer as much mental anguish unemployed and unadjusted in towns and cities as they suffer physically on the road. The group of ambitious, well-trained youths who find no opportunity to exercise their talents are as unfortunate and frustrated as the group on the road. Honor graduates of great universities find themselves not only unemployed but in bread-lines alongside of southern mountain boys who can neither read nor write.

One day in the pawn-shop district of Chicago, I counted nine of those little gold-plated footballs and basketballs, which high schools award to star athletes, five Phi Beta Kappa keys, and three other keys representing honorary university professional societies. The gold-plated emblems of athletic victory could be bought for 25c to \$1.25; the honorary professional society insignia cost \$1.50; the Phi Beta Kappa keys \$3.50; and that I thought was fairly representative of the value of an education in America today.

And in another city a manager of a hotel explained how he broke the depression by renting rooms at cost to department-store girls getting less than \$10.00 per week and then requiring the girls to work out their room rent by being "nice" to male guests.

Conditions like these give rise to a nation-wide feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent among youth. Many do not know how their brothers on the bread-line fare; but even among the prosperous there is a feeling that so far as youth and the future are concerned all is not well.

Yet nothing very much is being done about the problem. The older generation busy struggling for their own existence have little time to help youth. When they try, their advice and aid are of dubious value. They see things entirely in terms of their own youth and the pioneer philosophy of rugged individualism. Youth itself trained from the cradle in this same spirit—to compete instead of coöperate—is unable to help itself. The result is a perfect stalemate.

This stalemate will be broken only when new and true leadership appears both among youth and older people. At present, almost all youth organizations of youths have as their end merely a good time. And almost all youth organizations of adults have as their end some form of welfare work in which the adults out of the largeness of their hearts or the public treasury do something for the young. Nowhere is there an organization or a leader attempting to get youth to think and act for itself.

In fact, there is serious opposition to youth doing anything for itself by the very persons whose duty it is to train youth to think in social terms. The social studies in too many schools are taught not as a scientific approach to a problem whereby an open mind is kept until all the facts are gathered and evaluated, but as a series of moralistic dogma. Because the questions brought into these classes are controversial, the instructors are too frequently on the defensive. They present a point of view and dare the students to doubt it. The more intelligent students soon learn to accept the instruction, return it in tests, and forget it as soon as possible. "It doesn't," as one of them said to me, "pay to argue with a teacher even when you know she is wrong." Consequently, whether the teacher be radical or reactionary, liberal or conservative, matters little. Students learn early a skepticism of everything taught in classrooms. For ideas in relation to life they go elsewhere.

Some opposition to youth doing its own thinking comes from the inevitable conflict between youth and age. Not a little comes from the vested youth interests. For years certain institutions such as schools, and certain social agencies such as gymnasium groups, have had a monopoly upon youth activities. Tax funds and private donations were given to them as trustees in the leadership and guidance of youth. On the whole, their leadership has been unsuccessful, whatever they may have contributed to social control. They attempted to do things for youth. They collect money for a summer camp, hire contractors, and supervisors to run the camp and give unemployed youth two weeks of pleasant but unproductive

idleness instead of giving lumber, tools, and supplies, and telling them to build their own camp. Youth is not a partner in these undertakings, and thus assumes no responsibility. The recipient of favors, it comes to depend not upon its own powers but upon the bounty of state or charity for aid.

A real youth movement would teach young people to rely more upon themselves, and less upon their elders. While a real youth movement may be inspired by elders, it must be led and supported by youths who know how to coöperate. The present generation of young people trained in competitive practices and individualistic thinking is unable to coöperate. The first years of the depression pulled youth more apart than ever before. Competition became intensified. Competition, however, was unsuccessful. The lines of unemployed youth grew. Lately, youth has been taking an interest in coöperative efforts to better conditions. This interest is embryonic but growing. Not yet have we the beginnings of a real youth movement; but the seed, I hope, is planted.

PAST YOUTH MOVEMENTS

In the past, youth movements have arisen whenever youth found that age gave no leadership in solving existing difficulties. Following an unsuccessful war or other calamity, age became pessimistic and jittery. Youth looking to age for guidance and inspiration found not even hope. The old folks failed in their task of governing. They did not see how youth could do better. Youth looking into the future through the eyes of age saw nothing but defeat.

And then suddenly youth looked to itself. It ceased to regard the world through old eyes. Young people began to associate more and more with each other and less with their elders. In their own associations they found hope and inspiration. The older generation made a mess of governing the world; the younger one resolved to disregard that failure and went on to success.

The chief obstacles in the way of a genuine youth movement in America have been indicated above. There are others. There are the exploiters of youth organizations, reformers, politicians, and others with axes to grind who use youth for selfish ends. Any youth organization actively connected with a political party will be used by that party and as soon as the younger members become able to stand on their feet and fight back, the older element in the party will suppress them. It is foolish to look for a youth movement until youth developing its own resources will be strong enough to overcome those who would suppress youth or use youth for its own ends.

Not yet, I repeat, has American youth reached this stage. Still, there are evidences that youth is marching. Within the last year, throughout the country, groups of youth are becoming more determined to have something to say in their own destiny. Without aid, often in spite of the opposition of older groups, youth organizations are holding well-attended conferences composed exclusively of the young. Not only in the colleges but among the unemployed youths there is growing evidence that the younger men and women are not only thinking but planning for themselves.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND YOUTH

What can social sciences do to help them? Perhaps the best thing would be to make the courses not only ones in which the students learn but ones in which they have an opportunity to digest and give out. The average college as well as high-school graduate does not know how to express himself. I have attended several youth congresses, and what impressed me was the fact that youths from farm and factory were better able to express themselves, more familiar with parliamentary rules, than those from school and college.

Part of the duty of the social sciences should be instruction in the use of knowledge already acquired and a critical attitude toward the new. Instructors in social sciences are too prone to urge their students to acquire background in the same way that English teachers urge their students to study the masters of prose. Yet in studying the masters of English prose, the students have little opportunity to develop their own power. The result is that the critical faculty is developed at the expense of the creative. The students learn how to recognize good poetry or prose but not how to write it. In the same way, teachers of social science attempt to load their students with a body of facts upon which to act. This load becomes so deadening that the students lose their capacity to act. They become burros carrying knowledge in enormous notebooks and packs, but they are incapable of doing anything with this knowledge or realizing which way they are going.

Another very important service of courses in social science would be to direct the attention of students toward occupations and professions of public service. Social-science teachers should try to implant in their scholars a desire to serve. At the same time, they should be realistic in their instruction. Too often, in the past, much of the instruction in social science was instruction in derelictions and mistakes. A word ought to be said occasionally for the good works of government. Care ought to be exercised in order not to discourage youths from active participation. Sometimes youths are repulsed by tales of dishonesty and graft in politics. Yet nobody tells them of dishonesty and graft in business, professions, and daily life. Certainly the ignorant ward heeler who accepts \$5.00 to fix an automobile tag is no more dishonest than the university-trained surgeon who operates when he knows no operation is required. Nor is business itself free of untrustworthy persons. Consider the South American bond deals, the unsavory conditions behind many bank failures, and the dishonest subterfuges of many industrial firms to avoid complying with NRA. A realistic attitude toward teaching participation in public life ought to acknowledge these facts and teach that improvement in public administration can come about only when the best type of young manhood and womanhood enters public life. And as this is the end of social-science instruction, it cannot be too strongly emphasized.

History and Technology

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"If my judgment be of any weight," wrote Francis Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning*, "the use of history mechanical is of all others the most radical and fundamental towards natural philosophy; such natural philosophy as shall not vanish in the fume of subtle, sublime, or delectable speculation, but such as shall be operative to the endowment and benefit of man's life."¹ And in his ideal commonwealth outlined in *The New Atlantis*, inventors, not philosophers, artists and teachers, were Bacon's chosen of men. Not only would he preserve pattern samples of the more "rare and excellent" inventions, but for every invention of value he would erect "a statue to the inventor and give him a liberal and honorable award."² Three hundred years later we find Henry Ford, symbol of mass production in our own day, asserting in unmistakable language that the real benefactors of mankind in a world of perpetual change are neither politicians nor economic theorists, but the scientists and the technologists who carry on quietly in laboratory and workshop.³

The determination whether inventors and scientists, more than other men, have shaped civilization is not the purpose of this paper. Here we are concerned with the effect, in so far as it can be ascertained, of technology upon history—of the changing rhythm of tempo of life occasioned by the machine, and by the findings of the laboratory.

For a generation or more, historians on both sides of the Atlantic have given increasing attention to what has come to be familiarly known as the Industrial Revolution. This revolution, so run the textbook accounts, had its beginning in England about the middle of the eighteenth century, and in the course of the next one hundred and fifty years spread to the continent, to the United States and to the Far East. From these accounts also, one gets the impression that prior to 1750 machines were unknown and that small-scale, petty handicraft production alone prevailed. Nothing could be further from the truth, for a closer study indicates that our machine civilization dates back to the tenth century—and even earlier if we take into consideration the technological devices inherited from other cultures. The long-prevailing notion that medieval culture with its ordered and integrated feudal hierarchy of church and state, its centers of study, its unrivaled art and its harmonious religious-philosophical system was completely antipathetic to scientific endeavor cannot be substantiated. Not only were the technological advances and suggestions of other civilizations brought together during this

¹ Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, Vol. II, Sec. 6. London: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

² Francis Bacon, *The New Atlantis*. Cambridge: University Press, 1919. See especially his discussion of Salomon's House.

³ Henry Ford, *Today and Tomorrow*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1926. *Moving Forward*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930.

period but the process of invention and experimental adaptation went on at a slowly accelerating pace, a pace which greatly quickened during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴

Granting the truth of this statement, what effect, it may be asked, did technology have upon the material basis and cultural forms of western civilization prior to 1500? The answer to this question is an exceedingly difficult one and must for the present, at any rate, be very tentative. In fact, we can do little more than single out what appear to have been a few of the more important technological devices of the period and endeavor to indicate something of their historical significance.

Foremost among the inventions of the period were mechanical and astronomical clocks, intricate mechanisms whose creation involved, as Professor A. P. Usher points out,⁵ all the fundamental principles of mechanics. In reality the clock was our first automatic machine and the model for many other mechanical devices. Landmark as it was in technological history, culturally the clock had far-reaching consequences. With its increasing use, the tempo of life changed. Rural dwellers, it is true, were little affected by the new device but in urban communities men regulated their lives more and more by the clock. Even organic functions were governed by it. People arose, ate, and went to sleep by the clock. Lewis Mumford, in his recent interpretative and challenging volume, even goes so far as to claim that they became time-conscious and time-regimented.⁶

Second only to the clock were the printing press, the improved manufacture of paper, glass, the mining of coal, the blast furnace and more perfected power devices. "Of all the world's great inventions," to quote from Dr. Thomas F. Carter,⁷ "that of printing is the most cosmopolitan and international. China in-

⁴For revisionist treatment of the Industrial Revolution consult: H. L. Beales, "Historical Revisions: The Industrial Revolution," in *History*, Vol. XIV. (London: C. Hodgson, 1912-1934); A. H. Dodd, *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1933); Franz M. Feldhaus, *Ruhmesblätter der Technik von der Werfindungen bis Zur Gegenwart*, 2 Vols. (Leipzig: Brandstetter, 1924); Herbert Heaton, "Industrial Revolution," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VIII (New York: Macmillan Co.); J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*. (London: The W. Scott Publishing Co., 1917); I. M. Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 2 Vols. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1928-1929); E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, 3 Vols. (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1915); Paul Mantoux, *La Révolution Industrielle du XVIII^e Siècle*, rev. ed. (London: Cape, 1928); Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934); J. U. Nef, "The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large-Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540-1640," in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. V. (London: A. & C. Black, 1927-1935); Henri Sée, *Modern Capitalism, Its Origin and Evolution*. (New York: Adelphi, 1928); Werner Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, 3 Vols. (Munich: Duncker, 1921-27); Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vols. III, IV. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929-34.) See especially conclusion in Volume IV; A. P. Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1929).

⁵Usher, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-171. See also Thorndike, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 389-392, for the work of John de Dondis on the astronomical clock.

⁶Mumford, *op. cit.*

⁷Thomas F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, rev. ed., p. 185. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.) On the technical side see the following: Usher, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-220; Charles Mortet, *Les Origines et les Débuts de l'Imprimerie*. Paris: Pour la Société française de bibliographie, 1922; J. E. Hodgkin. Rariora, Vol. II, *The Dawn of Topography*. (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., 1902.)

vented paper, and first experimented with block printing and movable type; Japan produced the earliest block prints that are now extant. Korea first printed with type of metal, cast from a mould. India furnished the language and religion of the earliest block prints. People of Turkish race were among the most important agents in carrying block printing across Asia . . . Persia and Egypt are the two lands of the Near East where block printing is known to have been done before it began in Europe. The Arabs were the agents who prepared the way by carrying the making of paper from China to Europe . . . France and Italy were the first countries in Christendom to manufacture paper . . . Germany, Italy and the Netherlands were the earliest centers of the block printing art . . . Germany perfected the invention and from Germany it spread to all the world." Though no mechanical contrivances of any complexity were involved, the invention of printing not only furnishes us with an example of cultural borrowing, but the use of movable types strikingly anticipates the principle of standardization and interchangeability of parts. By the end of the fifteenth century, Germany alone had over a thousand printing presses not counting those in castles and monasteries. Like the clock, the use of the printing press helped to alter the cultural pattern. Books and pamphlets multiplied in number. Printed propaganda became an art that developed amazingly. The range of communication was extended. The importance of the monastery as a recorder of events was lessened. Space, time, and effort were economized. The habit of putting things on paper was encouraged.

Similarly gunpowder, the blast furnace, and the invention of cannon, coupled with capitalist exploitation, also help to account for the changing European environment of the later medieval period. The large-scale use of iron for guns, ammunition, fortification and the like led directly to the destruction of forests, to the building of arms factories, to the mechanization of mining, to defacement of the countryside, to the increased employment of labor underground where the dangers to health and even life were ever present, and finally to the appearance of the dingy, brutalizing mining town. Nor should we overlook the fact that both mining and war were intimately bound up with the early development of modern capitalism and with the emergency of the national state.

Glass manufacture, in all probability an ancient discovery of the Egyptians, gained a permanent foothold in Europe in the early Middle Ages. By the thirteenth century the famous glass works at Murano, near Venice, had been established and soon thereafter its manufacture spread to other parts of Europe.⁸ Glass, like the other products of invention, wrought its changes upon civilization. By the end of the seventeenth century, the substitution of window glass for the wooden shutter or for oiled paper and muslin was about complete. Dwelling places that formerly presented a dreary aspect in regions of long winter, and on

⁸For glass manufacture and its use consult: Edward Dillon, *Glass*. (London: Methuen & Co., 1907); L. F. Day, *Windows, A Book About Stained and Painted Glass*. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1909); R. Schmidt, *Das Glas*. (Berlin: Reimer, 1912); H. Arnold and L. B. Saint, *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France*. (London: A. & C. Black, 1925).

cloudy days, were now brighter and warmer. Without glass, there could have been no Chartres and no Notre Dames to stir the souls of unnumbered thousands. Spectacles were widely used by the fifteenth century. In 1590, a Dutch optician, Zacharias Jansen, invented the compound microscope.⁹ A few years later another Hollander, Johann Lippersheim, invented the telescope.¹⁰ By means of these two inventions alone, the world of the human was immensely enlarged. People could now see what they had never been able to see before. The authority of the eye was magnified and the dominion of the mind enlarged. The development of glass made possible the accomplishments of Boyle, Torricelli, Pascal, Galileo, Edison. The retort, the distilling flask, the test-tube, the barometer, the thermometer, the lenses and slide of the microscope, the electric light and the x-ray and radio tube are products of glass technics without which science would be severely crippled. Through the use of the glass mirror, personality was frequently altered. People could see themselves. They could observe their dress, their looks, their conversation. Glass was indeed the instrumentality through which one could behold not only himself but a new world.

Though many of the technological devices old and new depended in some degree upon human beings for motive power during the Middle Ages, we should not overlook the fact that new sources of power, impersonal in character, developed during these centuries. Of these the waterwheel and the windmill deserve at least brief mention.¹¹

Watermills, which were very numerous prior to the fifth century, decreased in number with the breakdown of the Roman Empire. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, they were again numerous, the Domesday Survey of 1186 indicating that there were five thousand in England alone.¹² By the fourteenth century they were common in Bologna, Ausburg, Ulm and other continental manufacturing centers. Not only were they used to grind grain and pump water but to pulp rags for paper, to saw wood, to run the hammering and cutting machines at ironworks, to operate the hide-beating machines in tanneries, to furnish power for spinning silk and fulling cloth, to press olives and to turn the grinding machinery of the armorers. Water power was also used to operate the powerful bellows for the blast furnaces and the machines for crushing ore.

Windmills were in widespread use in Europe by the end of the twelfth century. Of varying types, they were employed primarily to grind grain, to saw lumber, and to pump water from areas where land reclamation was in progress. The development of wind and water power did not reach its height on the

⁹ E. Gerland and F. Traumüller, *Geschichte der Physikalischen Experimentierkunst*. (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1899); Paul Drude, *The Theory of Optics*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925); W. B. Carpenter, *The Microscope and Its Revelations*. (London: Churchill, 1891).

¹⁰ Sir Joseph Norman Lockyer, *Stargazing, Past and Present*. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1878); Agnes M. Clerke, *A Popular History of Astronomy During the 19th Century*. (London: A. & C. Black, 1902).

¹¹ Usher, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-145. R. Bennett and J. Elton, *History of Corn Milling*, Vol. II. (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1900); Theodore Beck, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Maschinewesens*. (Berlin: J. Springer, 1900).

¹² F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*. Cambridge: University Press, 1897.

Continent until the seventeenth century and in England until a century later. While both were subject to the vagaries of the weather, neither could be easily monopolized. The saving of human labor by these prime agencies of power was incalculable. They were to the Middle Ages and to early modern times what the steam engine and the dynamo were to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

But the windmill and the waterwheel along with the clock, the blast furnace, the printing press and glass were only a few of the constantly increasing number of inventions. Many of these emanated from the encyclopedic mind of Leonardo da Vinci, whose life span extended from 1452 to 1519.¹³ Painter, sculptor, architect, engineer, philosopher and mathematician, he reasserted the basic principles of dynamics, the nature of inertia and the impossibility of energy being created *ex nihilo*; he studied the laws of motion and suggested that sound and light were but forms of the latter; he denied the credibility of the geocentric theory; observed the indices of geologic evolution and of the similarity of anatomy among living creatures; concluded that the blood circulated, that the eye was a camera obscura, and that the brain was the organ of thought. His list of inventions is a long and varied one. Among them were a centrifugal pump, a dredge for canal-building, a breech-loading cannon, the alarm clock, the ship's log, the wheelbarrow, a power loom, a submarine boat, and a silk-winding machine. Moreover, after scientific observations of the flight of birds, he built a flying machine and designed what was in all probability the first parachute. As a mechanic he was in his day without an equal. In this field he invented the anti-friction roller bearing, the universal joint, rope and belt drives, link chains, bevel and spiral gears, compasses and the continuous motion lathe. Scientific genius though he was, da Vinci, nevertheless, built upon the scientific findings and technological contributions of earlier centuries just as later centuries were to build upon his labors. In the past, historians and biographers because of ignorance, a spurious sense of patriotism or a desire to simplify have been too prone to attribute an invention to a single person. The perfected technological device is almost never the sole work of one inventor but rather the product of the successive labors of innumerable persons working at various times and often toward various purposes. The present weaving machine, for example, in a compound of approximately 800 inventions.

Though Leonardo was the outstanding engineer and inventor of his day, he was by no means an isolated figure. But lack of time—for I stand before you as a living example of a time-regulated human—forbids consideration of Giovanni da Fontana and other precursors of Leonardo who applied mechanical ingenuity to science.¹⁴ Enough has been said, I think, to indicate that the fundamental or key inventions and discoveries in the realm of technology came into existence much

¹³ Usher, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-199; Woldemar von Seidlitz, *Leonardo da Vinci. Der Wendepunkt der Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Bard, 1909); F. M. Feldhaus, *Leonardo, der Techniker und Erfinder*. (Jena: Diederichs, 1913.)

¹⁴ Thorndike, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, Chap. XLV.

earlier than the eighteenth century and not in England but on the Continent. At any rate, the increasing number of studies in recent years of special industries support this conclusion.

The increase in inventive output during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries was in part the result of basic changes in European culture. The scientific and technological advances to which we have already alluded not only helped to bring about a new spirit and a new civilization but were in part the product of it. The mariner's compass, the astrolabe, the rudder, the portolani, the improvements in shipbuilding all played a part in the great expansive movement which resulted in the discovery of the new world and in the opening of new avenues for conquest and trade. Similarly, gunpowder and cannon enabled monarch and bourgeoisie to triumph over feudal nobles and to build the national state. Gradually, technology gained a firmer foothold. Especially was this true in Great Britain where, as Professor J. U. Nef has recently shown,¹⁵ the changes in industrial technique and scale of enterprise during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were no less remarkable than those which occurred between the middle of the eighteenth century and the passage of the Reform Act of 1832. By the seventeenth century, Bacon and other Utopians were pondering the possibility of utilizing the machine to create a new heaven and a new earth.

The tempo of life was changing too and by 1700 several features of the older cultural pattern were in process of alteration. Many of the new machine industries, for example, capitalistic or semi-capitalistic in nature, tended to escape guild control. In some the old relation between master and men was severely modified. Craft skills, so important in the old order, tended to be displaced. Production became more specialized. Quantitative standards tended to replace qualitative standards. Profits increasingly became the gospel of the business man. Instead of being employed primarily to promote human welfare, the new technics were used to enrich those who owned them. Shifts in population, concentration of wealth, and overseas colonization were also a partial result of the advancing technology. Nor should we overlook certain positive achievements. Unquestionably, the new processes saved human labor and were indirectly responsible for the introduction of many new commodities. Goods like silk and the better muslins formerly regarded as luxuries now became more common. Even the senses were stimulated by what for some people was rapidly becoming a new order of life.

If technological advances prior to the opening of the eighteenth century were responsible in part for the shaping of history, what of the great mechanistic changes since that time? It is not my purpose to give, even in briefest summary, an account of the hundreds of inventions and laboratory discoveries that have been made since 1700. Rather must I be content with merely indicating some of

¹⁵ J. U. Nef, "The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large-scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540-1640," in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 3-24. London: A. & C.

the more outstanding ways in which these inventions and discoveries have fashioned the historical pattern during this period.

On the material side, the technological gains during the last two hundred years have been tremendous. Not only did this period witness the invention of hundreds of mechanical devices but more important it saw the perfection of the drill, the planer, the lathe and other machine tools so necessary for machine production. It saw too the utilization of new sources of power, namely steam and gas-engines and electricity. As a result, production and transportation have undergone dramatic change and the tempo or rhythm of life has been stepped up. The farmer, for example, no longer tills his soil and harvests his crops with hand tools. No longer is he compelled to carry his products to market over dusty roads in horse-drawn vehicles. The introduction of labor-saving devices and modern conveniences has lightened the labor of his household, increased its comforts and brought him into closer touch with the outside world. By electrifying his poultry house, he has even induced his hens to increase their egg production. In a word, technology has revolutionized his existence. And what is true of the farmer is equally true of men in almost every other walk of life. We are surrounded by machines and gadgets and as a result our earth has grown smaller and smaller.

THE HISTORIAN

But the historian who neglects to look beyond the mere invention and utilization of machines and scientific processes fails to ascertain fully the relation of technology to civilization. If he would obtain this broader perspective, he must push his inquiry in many directions; for in its effect upon the pattern of history, technology follows no single trail. He must in the first place ascertain the relation of science to industrial technique. To what extent, for example, did such outstanding nineteenth century figures as von Meyer, Mendeléev, Faraday, Clark-Maxwell, Claude Bernard, Darwin, Mendel and Willard Gibbs, to mention only a few, contribute to technological advance through the reorganization of scientific thought? In this connection, he should not overlook the field of engineering, for the engineer may well be regarded as a kind of liaison between men of science and industrialists. Indeed, this observation was made by August Comte more than a hundred years ago. Historians know much of politicians and statesmen but little of the rôle of the engineer. Has the engineer in the past, for instance, been a mere technician with a one-sided factual education and devoid in most cases of humanistic interests and lacking in aesthetic appreciation, and if so, what, if anything, has been done to remedy this defect? Or has Leonardo da Vinci been the model? To what extent has the engineer contributed to our material welfare and shaped our cultural fabric?

Nor can he ignore the many changes in social relationships effected by technology. These include growth and shifts in population, urbanization, colonization, the family, the factory system and unemployment. Technological improvements, especially the steam engine with its dependence upon iron and coal, were re-

sponsible in part for the shift of industry from South and East England to the bleak water-supplied valleys of Yorkshire and to the bleaker valleys of the coal-seamed Pennines. To these new industrial regions came the landless peasant and a proletarian and pauper element from them older municipalities to populate uninviting mill towns and mining villages.¹⁶ In America, Pittsburgh and Birmingham owe their existence to the geographic location of certain natural resources and to technological developments of which the railroad and the Bessemer process of manufacturing steel are by no means the least important. Technological advances in the textile industry account also in part for the population shifts in New England and southwestern Canada during the last hundred years. Without technological changes, it is doubtful whether the negro migration from the South to northern industrial communities in the course of the last two decades would have occurred.

Technological improvements in the realm of communication and transportation have facilitated the concentration of people into great urban centers. A city's food supply must be thought of in terms of water transport, railroad and motor truck; its shelter in terms of lumber, concrete, brick and steel; and its safety in terms of electric lamps, traffic lights, mechanized fire apparatus, telephones, bridges, tunnels and rapid transit. Without technological changes, suburban life as we now know it would have been unthinkable. Just as technology has made concentration of population possible, so has it in the form of the generation and transmission of electricity, the motor car and the aeroplane made decentralization possible.

TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITALISM

The relation between technology and capitalism should engage the attention of the historian. Whether we agree with Sombart and Veblen that the "life-value" of capitalism "lies in its profit and loss account," there can be little doubt that capitalism has utilized technology not for the primary purpose of furthering social welfare but for private profit. Indeed, from the seventeenth century on, money-getting has increasingly been the goal toward which the Western World has striven. Profit has been the main objective and the controlling factor in nearly all industrial enterprise. Inventions that promised profits were encouraged and machines and new processes that would increase output, and thereby dividends, were installed. Because of the profit motive the machine has been overworked, over-enlarged, and over-exploited. And the historian who would untangle such twisted threads of the warp and woof of history as the wasteful exploitation of resources, both natural and human, industrial accidents, occupational

¹⁶ There is strong divergence of opinion as to the effect of capitalistic industrialism on the worker; cf. T. S. Ashton, *Economic and Social Investigation in Manchester, 1833-1933; A Centenary History of the Manchester Statistical Society*. (London: P. S. King & Son, 1934); G. W. Daniels, *The Early English Cotton Industry*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920); A. H. Dodd, *op. cit.*; J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920); M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution*. (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1926); Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850*. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1926).

disease, mass production, over-expansion of plant and equipment, the excessive diversion of energy and manpower into sales promotion, advertising, adulteration, business concentration, monopolization, patent wars, speculation in stocks and commodities, business fluctuations, an iron law of wages, labor organization, strikes and other forms of industrial warfare, housing, slums, ghost towns, mass regimentation, unemployment and social relief, must do so against a background of capitalism and technology. Capitalism has conditioned technology and technology in turn has conditioned capitalism, and both have conditioned society.

The story of civil and international warfare fills many pages of the annals of mankind. From earliest times, war has been an incentive to invention; and from the fourteenth century on, warfare has been increasingly mechanized. Henry Cort's iron puddling process patented in 1784 helped to decide the issue between England and France during the Napoleonic wars. The Bessemer and Siemens-Martin processes for making steel were in all probability a factor in the triumph of the North in the war between the states. A comparison of the military equipment used in the Franco-Prussian War with that employed in the World War furnishes ample evidence of the effect of technology upon the most wasteful and brutal of all of man's activities. Moreover, the historian cannot fail to see that competitive national fears and rivalries, national military and naval policies, international traffic in arms, conferences for the limitation of armaments are intimately bound up with capitalism and technology.

Even the realm of politics and government has not escaped technologic influences. Makers and users of machines seek government subsidies and tariffs. In time of war and industrial strife, they turn to the government for protection. They further expect government aid in the form of trade treaties and securing of those needed raw materials which lie outside the boundaries of the national state. Already the time has arrived when nations acting together must take steps to safeguard and conserve such products as tin, asbestos, cobalt, radium, uranium, helium, mica and tungsten which in comparison with iron, copper and aluminum are exceedingly rare. The radio and the loud speaker have virtually transformed election campaigns, and the voting machine has come as a fitting climax to the new order.

The influence upon history of the telephone, the telegraph, television, the camera, the moving picture, the radio, the telescope, the microscope, x-ray, and the spectroscope, as well as those numerous discoveries that yearly come from the chemical and physical laboratories of the world is almost immeasurable. Less important perhaps than other technological devices in producing material goods for man's consumption they have, nevertheless, played a major rôle in altering man's wishes, habits, and ideas and in making his life spiritually richer. Without these technics, the remarkable progress made in the last fifty years in medicine, ophthalmology, dentistry, surgery, chemistry and bacteriology would have been quite impossible. The wireless telegraph and wireless telephone have reduced space and time to a minimum. Plato defined the limits of the size of a city as the

number of people who could hear the voice of a single orator; today man's voice can be heard almost simultaneously around the world. Thanks to these technics too, not only has the scope of history been enlarged but its record has been made more permanent and more available. The camera alone enables us to reproduce the image of men, places, buildings, landscapes, and the printed page. And the moving picture by carrying a succession of images gives to the past a new form of immortality.

From what has been said, it must be evident that every aspect of history has been directly or indirectly tinged by technology. Even religion, philosophy, and the arts—painting, sculpture, architecture and music—have felt its impact. The landscapes of the English painter, J. W. M. Turner, and the paintings of Monet and Benson are evidence of this fact. So also is the modern skyscraper—the cathedral of the Machine Age. A glance at the literature of successive generations, from the time of Leonardo da Vinci down, indicates clearly that men of letters were quite aware that technology was a major factor in shaping the history of their time. Such, for example, were Thackeray, Carlyle, Dickens, Balzac, Zola, Emerson, and Ruskin. Many romanticists like Scott and Browning sought to escape the realities of the new industrialism by turning to other lands or to other times.

Though technology continues more than ever perhaps to fashion the pattern of history, humanity is beginning to question the ultimate value of a civilization based primarily on the institution of private profit with the machine as its hand-maid. Years ago Thorstein Veblen, one of the most brilliant students of modern society, voiced his opposition to a social-economic system which multiplied technological devices and at the same time kept its standards of consumption unstable and its increments of leisure at a minimum.¹⁷ Veblen believed it was useless to create technological devices with which to control nature unless the control resulted in the fullest possible gain for humanity. Henry Adams, who for so many years seriously sought to discover the significance of life, reached the conclusion that every person was driven forward by blind forces which could be neither anticipated nor controlled. Watching the huge dynamo in the Gallery of Machines at the Paris exposition in 1900, Adams was moved to question whether or not all life could be measured in terms of force. As he pondered this problem, he ultimately found himself comparing the twelfth century, the century of unity, with the twentieth, the century of multiplicity.¹⁸ Mysterious and marvelous as was the machine, it was to him no more so than the Virgin which in his opinion was the greatest force the western world had ever known. The twelfth century with its emphasis on faith satisfied the spiritual cravings of man. One may question whether twentieth century technology rules as inexorably as Cross and Cathedral and whether it brings mankind a spiritual satisfaction comparable to that of the

¹⁷ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1927. *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1915.

¹⁸ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams, An Autobiography*, Chap. 25. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1918.

twelfth century. That Adams thought that ultimately it might seem clear. But it seems equally clear that not until the machine satisfies the creative and spiritual side of man's life as well as his material needs will it reach its greatest usefulness. Certainly the machine is not an end in itself.

That technology will continue to make its imprint on history and to affect the pattern and the rhythm of life there can be little doubt; but if one may venture a prophecy, its nature and tempo will be increasingly geared not to preëmption, exploitation, and money-making, but to the maintenance and development of human life.

In addition to the references cited in the article, teachers and others interested in the problem of the influence of technology upon history may profitably consult the following:

- Elizabeth Baker, *Displacement of Men by Machines; Effects of Technological Change in Commercial Printing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.
 C. A. Beard, *Whither Mankind*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.
 C. A. Beard, *Toward Civilization*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930.
 Stuart Chase, *Men and Machines*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929.
 Waldo Frank, *The Rediscovery of America*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1929.
 I. B. Hart, *The Great Engineers*. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1928.
 P. A. Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, rev. ed., London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919.
 R. M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931.
 F. L. Nussbaum, *A History of Economic Institutions of Modern Europe*. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1933.
 W. F. Ogburn, *Living with Machines*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1933.
 W. N. Polakov, *The Power Age: Its Quest and Challenge*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1933.
 Holland Thompson, *The Age of Invention*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926.
 H. P. and M. W. Vowles, *The Quest for Power: from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1931.
 Erich W. Zimmermann, *World Resources and Industries; a Functional Appraisal of the Availability of Agricultural and Industrial Resources*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1933.

Economics for Teachers: an Experiment in Cooperative Learning*

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The purpose of this paper is to describe briefly an adventure in coöperative learning of economics by an elective class of prospective teachers. The students shared in making decisions on most questions of classroom procedure. Every majority decision of the group was followed on minor and major issues. The students never made an unreasonable demand.

The class was given the following list of economic problems:

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|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Standard of Living | 12. Economic Planning |
| 2. Housing and Home Ownership | 13. Money |
| 3. Advertising | 14. Banking |
| 4. The Consumer | 15. Railroads |
| 5. The Radio Industry | 16. Insurance |
| 6. Income and Wages | 17. The Public Utilities |
| 7. Unemployment | 18. Organized Labor |
| 8. Agriculture | 19. Economic Recovery |
| 9. Taxation | 20. Private and Public Debt |
| 10. Corporate Control | 21. Speculation in Securities |
| 11. International Economic Relations | 22. This Power Age |

These were selected because they had to do with current economic affairs although most of them may be found in the textbooks which stress the institutional viewpoint. The scope of each problem was very briefly described and then the students were asked to select twelve which should make up the course. We proceeded on the assumption that since no student remembers long the details in the systematic and comprehensive course, it would be wiser to limit the number of problems to those which appealed strongly to the students.

Each problem was planned as we proceeded. The chairman of the problem and the instructor planned the inquiry and assembled the references. At the beginning of each problem, the students were given an opportunity to suggest additional questions. The chairman then gave each student an opportunity to select the particular question which he wished to investigate. Roughly, three meetings a week were devoted to each problem, the chairman conducting the discussion. Not every student made a perfect chairman but the instructor intervened judiciously when help was needed. Each student's report which was given with the help of notes was followed by questions and general discussions. As far as possible, we tried to relate our study to practical affairs by making field

* Additional information about the experiment, including procedure and report for each problem, may be secured by writing the author.

trips, by analyzing public documents, by subscription to a weekly, and the use of current literature. When we discussed money, we examined the various kinds of paper currency; when we discussed taxation, we examined licenses, tax bills and receipts, stamps, and other tax forms; when we discussed insurance, we examined various kinds of policies, and so on.

Field trips were entirely voluntary. They were taken only when suggested by the chairman of a problem or by a student. All the arrangements from beginning to end were made by the chairman of the problem. In advance of each trip, the group prepared a set of questions to be answered by the representative of the place visited. The four trips selected by our group included a broadcasting station; a meeting of the Central Labor Council, a tour of the Federal Reserve Bank, and a trip to a farm.

In addition to the oral report, the student submitted a written report on his question to the chairman. It was the duty of the chairman to assemble the reports and to organize them into a complete and coherent treatment of the problem. Each report was mimeographed and distributed to the class. At the end of the course, each student had a coöperatively constructed textbook consisting of twelve chapters. Each mimeographed chapter included: (1) a procedure or minutes of the meetings; (2) a complete report of the inquiry; (3) a glossary of the more important new terms; and (4) a list of educational conclusions.

It was the duty of the chairman to share with the instructor the responsibility of outlining the inquiry and assembling the basic references. The chairman presided at meetings, introduced the problem, conducted the discussion, made the transition from question to question, collected the individual reports, and prepared the final report for mimeographing. In order to conduct the discussion effectively, the chairman was supposed to have a more comprehensive and thorough grasp of the topic than any other member of the group.

The instructor helped to create an atmosphere of serious inquiry by emphasizing the relation of the problem to social welfare. With the chairman, he planned the problem and assembled the references. As an active member of the group he participated in the discussion, filling the gaps left by students in reports and discussions. He sacrificed none of the leadership which an instructor is normally supposed to supply but exercised it against a background of group study. From time to time, he met with the group for a few minutes to take stock of the progress of the experiment and to consider ways of improving the procedure. The instructor conducted the weekly survey of current economic affairs which touched the formal program of study at many points. The chairman's report was read and slightly edited by the instructor before it was mimeographed.

The educational aspects of each problem were stressed. For example, the problem of taxation included a consideration of the present school revenues of the city, county, and state. Sometimes we considered how the same material could be presented to children.

The student was expected to read a general reference in addition to the in-

vestigation of his own problem. However, the student who read on his special question could not escape learning something of the problem as a whole. He came to the class meeting with an inquiring mind. He listened to his fellow students because he expected them to throw light on the problem. Each student anticipated that his material would be incorporated in the chairman's mimeographed report on the problem.

The experimental course gave the student greater opportunity to initiate, to plan, and to participate fully in the work of the class. The net result of the course as based on the coöperatively constructed tests and on informal appraisal of the course fully justified further experimentation.

The Literature of Politics, 1934

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DEFINING THE FIELD AND EXPLORING ITS BOUNDARIES

It has become a commonplace that the growing complexity of the contemporary world, in its scientific and technological aspects, has been transferred to the sphere of human relations. And, as in the physical sciences the barriers between the different disciplines have been broken down through a quickening sense of the interrelationships between the various sciences such as physics, chemistry, and astronomy, so in the social sciences, a process of integration is developing along with increasing specialization and more elaborate methods of measurement and analysis. It is coming to be realized, more clearly, indeed, as specialization proceeds, that something more than mere enumeration and description is necessary for an understanding of the total scene in which we live. The search for values is one aspect of this new viewpoint—a search as old as recorded history, but less emphasized as the so-called "scientific" approach of measurement and analysis came increasingly to dominate the thought of the last hundred years. Another aspect is the growing importance of attempts at synthesis and appraisal, of the utilization of the findings from related fields of human knowledge as elements in amplifying and interpreting the results of research in a particular area of observation.

This process will be reflected not only in some of the books reviewed here, but in this review itself. For, as in the work of many authors there is evidence that a wide use of sources from many of the social and even of the natural sciences is often essential to an understanding of a minute problem in a single subject, so it may very well be that some of the books here mentioned will also fall within the interest and attention of other reviewers. Politics, one of the youngest of the social sciences, is no more than a convenient symbol by which to mark rough boundaries within the wide domain of the study of human relations. The boundaries within the domain are not immutable, nor are rights of sovereignty to a particular portion of it incontestable. The historian, the economist, the sociologist, the psychologist, the anthropologist, may each bring to bear upon an isolated subject of investigation an indispensable criterion of understanding, and so may claim a share in its determination. In short, a review of this kind cannot hope to—and should not if it could—remain within predetermined frontiers of subject-matter or viewpoint.

But certain broad categories of materials to be considered may be laid down. For convenience, four have been selected as guides to a sorting of the literature rather than as limits upon its content: American government, national, state, and local; foreign and comparative government; international law and relations; and political theory, both historical and contemporary. These rather arbitrary divisions are themselves, at best, only tentative; many books cut across several and some will fall outside any of them. But they may provide soundings in different areas of primary interest to the specialist who wishes to test the direction of contemporary thought in other fields than his own.

Trends in practice which have been reflected in the literature. Before proceeding to a discussion of individual books of the year, certain trends which, though they may

have originated earlier, have developed further during the year, may be noted. These trends, by no means an exhaustive list, are indicative of new interest in the field of politics (as also in the other social sciences) or of fresh methods of approach or presentation. Three have been selected for brief consideration: the emergence of new interests and concepts; the closer liaison between academic investigation and public service, with many significant results upon research and writing; the revival of pamphleteering as an important means of presenting varying and often conflicting viewpoints, as well as of wider popular education.

Interests and concepts which have emerged during recent years have been concerned both with immediate issues in the American scene, and with underlying ideas upon which the whole machinery of government in its day to day operations ultimately rest. Four have come into clearer perspective during the past year. The New Deal, as to both its basic policies and its administrative practices, has been the subject of a rising tide of critical literature, not all of it ephemeral in pertinence or value. If politics is "present history," then the importance to teachers and students of government of the contemporary observation, recording an appraisal of such an episode as the contemporaneous experiment in reforging attitudes and programs in Washington is apparent. The past year has seen important additions to the literature of politics through the various methods and approaches applied to a scrutiny of the New Deal.

A second interest, of which the New Deal may be said to be but one factor, has emerged into even sharper contrast during the year, the conflict between democracy and dictatorship, both in theory and in action. The contrast has been reflected in the literature of defense and rationalization, of attack and justification, of observation and analysis, which has developed with increasing clarity during the past year.

Again, if the domestic scene has given rise to new and challenging concepts and programs, international relationships have germinated equally contrasting viewpoints. Is it not significant, for instance, that a single month in 1934 should have seen the publication of Beard's *The Open Door at Home*¹ and the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*² which, utilizing identical data—the present position and prospects of the United States as to recovery—should arrive at almost diametrically opposite conclusions as to a sound foreign trade policy for this country? Economic nationalism has emerged as a concept of outstanding significance in terms of actual application as well as of theoretical discussion.

Perhaps the most significant of all the new concepts from a long range viewpoint is the increasing attention being given to administration. In its broader aspects as a science with a growing body of principles and an increasingly definable system of procedures and relationships to the other branches of government, the study of Administration is rapidly achieving maturity and recognition. In its more immediate development as a method for integrating the vast mechanisms of government, national, state, and local, the past year has been particularly notable. The rapid expansion of administrative agencies, especially under the New Deal; the growing emphasis upon the projects for training for the public service, within various government departments and on the part of universities and other semi-public agencies; the appointment to the United States Civil Service Commission of an outstanding student of administration, Professor

¹ Charles A. Beard, *The Open Door at Home*. New York: Macmillan Co. \$3.00.

² *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into National Policy in International Economic Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. \$3.00.

Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago, and the utilization in many government agencies of trained personnel officers; increasing recognition of the status and function of the expert in government service; the political as well as the academic debates upon the application of the merit system to the higher branches of public service, have enriched the literature as well as enlarged the area of administrative practice during the year.

A second trend, which is closely related to the emergence of these new viewpoints and concepts, is the closer liaison between practical administrative activity and academic research. While this is, of course, no phenomenon of the past year alone, the development of the New Deal, the growth of various new agencies of state and local government, especially in the fields of planning and relief, the drafting of many individuals and even groups from the universities and other research centers for particular research projects or for general administrative responsibilities—these tendencies have been greatly accelerated during the past year, have resulted in fructifying contacts between academic researchers and government servants, and have been reflected in the literature issuing both from government departments and from unofficial sources.

Finally, the trend toward "pamphleteering" has become more sharply marked particularly during the past year. Many agencies, some of which will be noted below, have entered the field with a great variety of materials aimed at presenting viewpoints, or persuading opinion. The present flood of political pamphlets—in volume if not in style and content—is reminiscent of an earlier day in our own history when Federalist and anti-Federalist, Whig and Democrat, hurled broadsides of invective, and often of the solid shot of excellently reasoned political theory (as, for instance, in *The Federalist* and the writings of John Taylor). The present range is much broader: today there are not only the propaganda groups which offer the reader every color in the spectrum of opinion, but many educational agencies which are supplying objective accounts of current political affairs or reasoned arguments upon controversial questions of policy. Such agencies as the Foreign Policy Association and the National Advisory Committee for Education by Radio are mediums through which the experts in different fields can bring their opinions through forums and discussion groups, as well as through their writings, to bear upon current issues, to the great advantage of general public interest and education. The extension of many of these programs of adult education to the air—an extension much increased during 1934—widens the scope of their usefulness to the schools and colleges as well as to the public at large.

While a complete list of sources for pamphlets on current issues or politics would be useful, the following—highly selective—list will enable the teacher or student to explore the field and widen the search. Lists of the separate items can be obtained from the publishers: University of Chicago—Public Policy Pamphlets; University of Minnesota—The Day and Hour Series; John Day Company—The John Day Pamphlets; Foreign Policy Association—Foreign Policy Reports, and World Affairs Pamphlets; World Peace Foundation—Popular Pamphlets on World Problems; National Advisory Committee on Education by Radio—You and Your Government; American Education Press—Modern Problems Booklets.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

National government—the New Deal literature. In approaching the study of our national government during a period so fluid as the present, it is not surprising that

new types of books as well as new subject-matter should be found on the publishers' lists. During the past year, the high water mark of books relating to the New Deal may not have been reached, but the tide has been at flood. Only some of the more permanent books will be noted here; the more ephemeral literature which such an episode as this produces has current value as a gauge of opinion and as illustrative classroom material, but is soon forgotten as the tide recedes.

Perhaps the most successful attempt at a synthetic view of the New Deal is *A Short History of the New Deal*.³ Critical from a left-wing point of view, it nevertheless presents the salient facts concerning all the major operations of the government, and raises pertinent questions as to major lines of policy. The general reader or student will here obtain the best snapshot of activities to the middle of 1934.

Several other books dealing with more specialized aspects of the New Deal will remain important sources for contemporary analysis and appraisal. *Government Rules Industry*⁴ is primarily a constitutional study of the NRA in an attempt to discover its historical basis and the legal limitations upon its operations. While many of the author's conclusions may be questioned by those less conservatively minded, his study will remain the most useful brief approach to a study of the legal problems underlying the NRA. The author deals also with the administrative aspects of code making and enforcement in a manner sufficiently detailed to provide a general understanding of this most significant experiment in the control of business by government.

The Brookings Institution is undertaking to produce an impartial description and analysis—a sort of running account—of New Deal activities. *The ABC of the NRA*⁵ is a fairly detailed study of the administrative aspects of NRA; other studies relate to even more specialized aspects of the operation of New Deal legislation, such as *The Economics of Free Deals*,⁶ *Price Control Devices in NRA Codes*,⁷ and similar studies for the AAA and other agencies.

*New Federal Organizations: An Outline of Their Structure and Functions*⁸ is a highly specific volume, the title of which indicates its scope. Here a complete list with descriptive materials as to powers, duties, and organizations for each of the New Deal agencies (through August, 1934) is presented in a brief but adequate outline. It will remain the most valuable available reference on the new government agencies.

Two general and historical books on "government and business" have appeared during the year, inspired in part no doubt by the New Deal. *Government Experimentation in Business*⁹ is a brief against it. The author, teacher, tax expert, state legislator, and now the head of a private economic consulting service, has departed a good way from the path of strict impartiality and has compiled a series of rather terrible pictures of alleged failures of government business activities. Two things may be said concerning

³ L. Hacker, *A Short History of the New Deal*. New York: F. S. Crofts. \$1.75. (Unless otherwise noted, all books were published in 1934.)

⁴ M. F. Gallagher, *Government Rules Industry*. New York: Oxford University Press. \$2.00.

⁵ C. L. Dearing, and others, *ABC of the NRA*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. \$1.50.

⁶ L. S. Lyon and H. M. Wheeler, *Economics of Free Deals*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. \$1.50.

⁷ G. W. Terborgh, *Price Control Devices in NRA Codes*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. 50c.

⁸ L. F. Schmeckebier, *New Federal Organizations*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. \$1.50.

⁹ W. M. Persons, *Government Experimentation in Business*. New York: Wiley. \$2.50.

books of this type. First, comparable losses and failures can be found, often on a wider scale and with greater social losses, in the field of private business. Second, no adequate account is taken of the social benefits (by no means always to be found) of government operation even at a financial loss.

*Government and Business*¹⁰ is a factual account of the regulatory policies and devices of the national and state governments in all aspects of business, fiscal, and industrial enterprise. While still in part in outline form, the volume is an invaluable guide to present activities in this increasingly important field. There are adequate working bibliographies on each of the fields covered. None is omitted, from railroads and radio to banks and buses.

A number of other special studies of particular aspects of the New Deal of various types have appeared during the year. *The Annals*¹¹ have included four numbers dealing respectively with "Banking and Transportation Problems," "Towards National Recovery" (a study primarily of the NRA), "The Ultimate Consumer," and "Social Welfare in the National Recovery Program."

Two important bibliographies have been issued by the American Library Association: *Guide to the Official Publications of the New Deal Administration*; NRA—*The New Deal for Business and Industry*, A Bibliography, May-August, 1933.

The most ambitious project of "government in business" yet undertaken is the Tennessee Valley Authority project. No general study of the TVA has yet appeared; the articles by the Chairman of the Authority, Arthur E. Morgan, in the *Survey Graphic* (Vol. 23, 1934) under the general title "Benchmarks in the Tennessee Valley," are the most important contribution to date concerning its policy and program.

A Handbook of NRA,¹² together with a biweekly *NRA Reporter* provides a detailed current account, legislative, administrative, and judicial, of NRA developments.

These books are significant primarily for their emphasis upon and illumination of the governmental problems faced by the Roosevelt administration. These problems are, in their first phase, legislative and administrative; the machinery of government must be set in motion, policy translated into law, agencies articulated. But two other phases of government infringe on legislative and administrative action: the reaction of public opinion; and the censorship of the courts.

On the side of public opinion, *Challenge to the New Deal*¹³ is a collection of middle and left-wing criticisms of the New Deal in editorial, article, and cartoon. Like much of the ephemeral literature, it is interesting chiefly for its symbolization of attitudes more or less widely held. On the conservative side, several indicative books have appeared, such as *Beyond the New Deal*,¹⁴ perhaps the most coherent opposition argument.

National government—law and the courts. Public opinion operates more or less indirectly and only occasionally, at election time. The courts function as a continuous check upon administration, affecting policy and its application over wide areas by their decisions upon particular questions. There has been a very widespread interest in and a good deal of forecasting of the attitude of the courts to the New Deal.

¹⁰ F. P. Hall, *Government and Business*. New York: McGraw-Hill. \$2.50.

¹¹ *The Annals*, Nos. 171, 172, 173, and 176. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

¹² L. Mayers, *A Handbook of NRA*. New York: Federal Codes. \$6.00.

¹³ Brigham and Rodman, *Challenge to the New Deal*. New York: Falcon Press. \$2.50.

¹⁴ David Lawrence, *Beyond the New Deal*. New York: McGraw-Hill. \$2.50.

*The Twilight of the Supreme Court*¹⁵ is not only a useful guide to the precedents in this controversial field but the most significant study of the supreme court's relations to politics and administration which has appeared in recent years. The author's lectures are concerned with a historical analysis of four major phases of the court's exercise of judicial review—its interpretations of dual federalism, of the contract and due process clauses in relation to private property, of the balance of powers between the legislative and executive branches, and its silence before an untrammelled national "spending power."

As to the first, the author points out how far, especially in recent cases, the court has itself abandoned the doctrine of separate and equal sovereignty in the state as well as in the national government; to what degree the commerce and tax powers of the national government have been—and are likely to be—exercised in the interest of strengthening national power at the expense of states' rights, "as between the thesis of dual federalism and that of nationalism ineluctable forces have chosen." As to the second, Corwin indicated how the forces of economic expansion molded the contract and due process clauses into bulwarks of vested property interests, not by the logic of precedent or of fact or through the will of state or national legislature but by "a majority of nine entirely human beings." The doctrine of judicial review was invoked against and succeeded in disposing of the principle of the police power as exercised by forty-eight separate sovereignties; since there is no national police power, the *judicial* limitation of state action amounts to a *legislative* determination by a majority of the court as to the exercise of the states' power to promote the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the citizens.

But in two directions, national power has, in fact if not in theory, been extended in ways which have resulted, and will continue to, in providing to some degree a national control over interests essentially nationwide in scope. Through the extension of executive discretion in the application of laws (by means of "orders," decrees, etc.) centralizing tendencies, not infrequently stalemated by the court when too broadly stated in congressional enactments, have in practice been accepted and approved under Presidential authority. This process is, of course, central to the whole New Deal program; its review by the court beginning with the Texas "hot oil" decision of January, 1935, is brilliantly illuminated in the chapter on "'a government of laws and not of men' in a complex world." And in the single field of "the spending power," congressional action has, as Corwin shows, been unencumbered by judicial restraint. Since the power to spend can be exercised in such ways as to accelerate the whole centralizing process, "What becomes of judicial review as a system for . . . perpetuating a certain type of industrial organization?"

Professor Corwin's study of the court's activity in these fields, brief as it is, is a cogent and incisive critique of judicial review. Not only is it an accurate log of the evolution of our constitutional law in some of its most significant aspects, but an invaluable chart of its present trends—and possibilities. "'Back to the Constitution?' Yes; if what is intended is 'the Constitution' concerning which the Court has asserted: 'It was made for an undefined and expanding future.' . . . The first requirement of the Constitution of a progressive society is that it keep pace with that society." The author

¹⁵ E. S. Corwin, *The Twilight of the Supreme Court*. New Haven: Yale University Press. \$2.50.

has persuasively criticized the "lags" in that pace in our listory, and at the same time indicated its flexibility when tension becomes acute.

Two other books have appeared during the year dealing with the legal aspect of our national government. The collected papers of Mr. Justice Brandeis (other than his earlier opinions) have been collected under the title of *The Curse of Bigness*.¹⁶ The essays and addresses cover a wide range and indicate the imaginative quality of his mind which has been so amply utilized in his opinions (here illustrated by two dissents, in the Oklahoma Ice and the Florida Chain Store cases). The Massachusetts savings-bank life insurance plan, of which he was the author, industrial democracy and efficiency, railroads and finance, zionism, public service, and the law itself are the topics under which his writings have been collected. It would be hard to find the product of a single lifetime at once so rich in the variety and intensity of its interests and so catholic in the adherence to the great ideals of social service to which Mr. Brandeis was committed from his youth. There is a text for the present on almost every page of these essays, some three and four decades old.

*The Law of Citizenship in the United States*¹⁷ is a welcome and timely addition not only to legal literature but to the problem discussed. Not since the volumes by Van Dyne on citizenship and naturalization, of 1904 and 1907, has any systematic attempt been made to correlate the legislative, administrative, and judicial aspects of the new law of citizenship. Dr. Getty's volume is an accurate and comprehensive treatise on the law and an able and penetrating discussion of some of the most urgent issues in our immigration problem, as, for instance, the status of married women, the entry of Orientals, and the operation of expatriation.

One of the most interesting experiments in legal publication was initiated in 1934 by the Duke University School of Law in a quarterly series entitled *Law and Contemporary Problems*. Four numbers have been issued: "The Protection of the Consumer of Foods and Drugs"; "Low-Cost Housing and Slum-Clearance"; "Agricultural Readjustment in the South: Cotton and Tobacco"; "Federal Crime Control."

Each number includes articles not only upon constitutional and legal aspects of the problems considered but on their economic, social, and administrative phases as well. The authors are drawn from many fields beside that of law, and so present an account which, though it is based primarily on the legal issues underlying current legislative developments, serves to integrate the various factors essential to an adequate appraisal of these developments. While the studies are technical, they provide a new and significant unification of the legal and other social science approached and techniques, as well as important source materials for teachers and advanced students seeking an understanding of the newer attitudes in legal thought.

National government—executive. The Presidency has received attention from several points of view. *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932*,¹⁸ is a definitive statistical summary of the vote by counties for each election and for each of the major parties. County election maps are included which give at a glance the distribution of the plurality vote

¹⁶ Osmond K. Fraenkel and Clarence M. Lewis, eds., L. D. Brandeis, *The Curse of Bigness*. New York: Viking Press. \$3.50. The first full length portrait of Mr. Justice Brandeis appeared in 1933; A. T. Mason, *Brandeis, Lawyer and Judge in the Modern State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. \$2.00.

¹⁷ C. L. Gettys, *The Law of Citizenship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$3.00.

¹⁸ E. E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932*. California: Stanford University Press. \$6.00.

in each election. The data are summarized by states and sections, as well as by counties, to indicate the shifting strength of the major parties throughout the period. An introductory section reviews the relative importance of the minor party vote in addition to percentage distribution of votes of the major parties in each state. Professor Robinson's thorough and painstaking study is certainly indispensable for libraries which include source materials in American history and government.

*The History of the Vice-Presidency of the United States*¹⁹ is the first full-length study of "the fifth wheel of the government." While primarily a record of the nominations and campaigns, a review of the office and its functions is presented in terms of the relations of president and vice-president, the succession to the presidency, the vice-president's powers and duties as presiding officer, the casting vote.

That no president is a hero to the White House usher is abundantly proved by *Forty-two Years in the White House*.²⁰ Irwin (Ike) Hoover began his career in Harrison's administration as the White House electrician; perhaps no other man has had so informal—if distant—relations with the eight presidents who were tenants of the Executive Mansion during his lifetime. The author puts down his reflections with a fidelity and naïveté which are refreshing, and extraordinarily revealing. For insight into the private side of official life this book is unparalleled in our history. *The Roosevelt Omnibus*²¹ is a book in the same vein, an editorial, pictorial, anecdotal biography of the present president from the cradle to the White House. Both of these volumes are revealing supplementary sources about how our presidents grow up to their jobs and act while off duty.

The year has been extraordinarily rich in the appearance of credos from the leaders of the administration. No other year in our history has seen so many members of the cabinet as well as the president himself engaged in informing the country through books and addresses of their policies and beliefs. The President's *On Our Way*²² is the second collection of various of his addresses and continues the refrain *Looking Forward*.²³ Secretary Wallace has two books to his credit, *New Frontiers* and *Statesmanship and Religion*.²⁴ In both, the frontier and its concomitant of "spiritual adventure" (as well as economic and social) are given persuasive statement. The Secretary of the Interior, in *The New Democracy*,²⁵ also voices the administration's faith in the democratic way as does Miss Perkins in *People at Work*.²⁶ Finally Mr. Cummings in *Liberty Under Law and Administration*²⁷ restates his adherence to the traditional ideals of civil liberty, and individual rights, limited, however, in the legal process by the demands of an interdependent social and economic order. Incidentally, in each of these books there are revealing sidelights upon the development of policy in the departments over which the authors preside. Perhaps, too, these books are one indication of the extraordinary expansion of the use of publicity by the Roosevelt administration—a development more

¹⁹ L. Hatch, *The History of the Vice-Presidency of the United States*. Chicago: American Historical Society. \$3.50.

²⁰ I. H. Hoover, *Forty-two Years in the White House*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin. \$3.50.

²¹ D. Wharton, ed. *The Roosevelt Omnibus*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

²² F. D. Roosevelt, *On Our Way*. New York: John Day. \$2.50.

²³ F. D. Roosevelt, *Looking Forward*. New York: John Day. \$2.50.

²⁴ H. Wallace, *New Frontiers*. New York: Reynal. \$1.00. *Statesmanship and Religion*. New York: Round Table. \$2.00.

²⁵ H. LeC. Ickes, *The New Democracy*. New York: Norton. \$1.50.

²⁶ F. Perkins, *People at Work*. New York: John Day. \$2.50.

²⁷ H. S. Cummings, *Liberty Under Law and Administration*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

than a little significant for the future of democratic control and procedures of government. The Opposition's reply, Mr. Hoover's *The Challenge to Liberty*,²⁸ is the credo of laissez faire in a time of crisis, significant because it is symbolical.

State government. Two books of outstanding importance for an understanding of the legislative process appeared in 1934. *Principles of Legislative Organization and Administration*²⁹ is the third of the author's studies in "the principles of administration"; the other two, *Principles of Public Administration*, and *Principles of Judicial Administration*, with this volume, are the most comprehensive and accurate accounts of the processes and problems of administration in these three important fields. As the author points out, "one does not, at first, view the legislative branch as one representing problems of administration. . . . (But) here, too, are encountered practical problems of organization, personnel, and procedure analogous to those presented by the other two branches and the manner in which they are handled determines to an equal extent the efficiency with which the functions assigned to it are performed." His treatment of the problems raised by the legislative branch is not only exhaustive but highly realistic; he draws conclusions as to improvements in the legislative process from concrete experience in the national and state fields. The study covers every phase of legislation—from the theoretical questions involved in such matters as the separation of powers, the relations of the representative to his constituents, and the relations of the legislature to the other agencies of government to such highly practical problems as committee organization, more efficient voting methods, split sessions, party controls, and the formal aspects of legislative leadership. This is without question the most important single volume on the legislative process which has appeared in this country.

*Law Making in the United States*³⁰ is at once broader and narrower in scope. Professor Walker covers the drafting of constitutions, and "law making by judges, by the executive, and by the people" as well as statute law making. His discussion of the problems considered is more factual, and less comprehensive than Willoughby's. The volume is perhaps a more usable reference work for advanced school students because of its highly specific treatment of the various questions treated.

Election Administration in the United States,³¹ like its companion volume, *Registration of Voters in the United States*,³² completes the most thorough and incisive study yet made of the mechanics of ballot control and voting in this country. But Harris also considers and presents definite views upon many of the debated questions in our state voting systems—as, for instance, the relative advantages of the office-column as against the party-column type of ballot, the merits of voting machines, the need for more effective state-wide supervision of elections. Since the study covers all the states, it is an indispensable guide to practices throughout the country in this all too little explored field of the mechanism of popular control of government.

*Uniform State Action*³³ is not only a full-length study of the movement for uniform state laws which we have, but includes also consideration of such developments as

²⁸ H. C. Hoover, *The Challenge to Liberty*. New York: Scribner. \$1.75.

²⁹ W. F. Willoughby, *Principles of Legislative Organization and Administration*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. \$5.00.

³⁰ Harvey Walker, *Law Making in the United States*. New York: Ronald. \$4.00.

³¹ J. P. Harris, *Election Administration in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. \$3.00.

³² J. P. Harris, *Registration of Voters in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

³³ W. Graves, *Uniform State Action*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. \$3.50.

interstate compacts, and emphasises particularly the significance of coöperative administrative activities. The subtitle, "a possible substitute for centralization," indicates the author's distrust of national action to bring about needed uniformity in those fields where it is relevant, even essential. But his point of view has not distorted the invaluable account he has given of current practice and contemporary developments in an area of state activity which is certain to become more rather than less important with the increasing unification of our national economic and social interests. As a pioneer study of what has actually been accomplished in integrating interstate coöperation, this book is highly significant.

Numerous special studies, many initiated by special legislative commissions or in the state universities, deal with special aspects of state or county government. These studies are generally available through the legislatures or the universities, and are often of first rate importance not only to the citizens of these states, but to all students of administrative practice. A complete list of such studies is perhaps not obtainable anywhere. The *Monthly List of State Documents*, published by the Library of Congress, and *Public Affairs Information Service* (H. W. Wilson Co.) will yield many titles. No school library should fail to obtain such items as pertain to that particular state, and may profitably include others as they become available.

Local government. Lord Bryce's famous aphorism about local government in this country still hangs over this level of our governmental system as an indictment. So far as the efficiency of local government is concerned, two factors have become increasingly evident as indispensable elements in any improvement achieved in particular localities; an informed and alert citizenry, and an intelligible and workable governmental structure lie at the basis of any long-run "municipal reform." Cincinnati's experiment with the city manager plan has received a careful and objective appraisal from one of the leaders in the movement for its adoption in *City Management*.⁸⁴ Mr. Taft was a member of a little group who devoted their energies and abilities to ousting one of the most corrupt machines in American history. To accomplish this task, as he points out, it was necessary to develop a rival machine—rival in efficiency of organization and thoroughness of campaigning. But with the success of the new group in politics, only half the battle was won. Efficient administrative machinery that could function in terms of improved services and reduced costs had to be devised. So the group in power turned to the city manager plan; in seven years it has remade civic life. But as the author emphasized, without civic interest and efficient party organization the plan, as in Cleveland, may fail to hold the allegiance of the voters; with them, the city manager plan offers the best hope for efficient administration—as tested by results. The book ranks as one of the most—if not, indeed, the most—significant books on local government which has appeared in this century. It should be within the reach of every teacher and student as a manual of municipal government.

Two other volumes of the year deal separately with the major questions discussed by Taft. *Wanted: Intelligent Local Self-Government*,⁸⁵ while written primarily about the local political situation in Chicago, is in fact a penetrating discussion of the first of Taft's elements—a strong, responsible, and responsive party organization. The author's relentless analysis of the machine as irresponsible, of the voters as apathetic,

⁸⁴ C. Taft, *City Management*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

⁸⁵ G. Fairweather, *Wanted: Intelligent Local Self-Government*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 25c.

of the government as out of touch with actual civic needs and in the grip of special interests, is refreshingly candid and direct. His alternatives are the capturing of one of the old machines, or, as Taft advocates, the creation of a new and responsible party organization. There should not be "any illusions to the effect that the end-result, when achieved, will forthwith banish corruption and ignorance from local government. . . . But at least the people will have a fair, fighting chance to create an intelligent, representative local self-government of their own." Such books as these two are the best augury of an awakened public opinion; the distilled experience of politics-as-it-is in this brief primer should be a part of the civic training of every prospective citizen.

In *The City-Manager Profession*,³⁶ the authors make a detailed study of the twenty-year experience of (now more than 425) American cities with the office of city manager, with respect to the qualifications, training, selection, and tenure of this emerging professional group in public service. While the study is factual rather than evaluative, it provides a convincing picture of improvement in administrative organization and standards accomplished in this country under the city-manager plan during the past two decades. With White's volume,³⁷ which it complements, an objective judgment, based on measurable criteria, of the relative efficiency of different types of municipal organization is, perhaps for the first time, possible. And not the least valuable aspect of the study is its emphasis upon the efforts toward raising and maintaining standards of professional qualifications and practices made by the city managers themselves. The fact that a career service is rapidly developing within which, as in the pre-Hitler German cities and in English cities, promotion from smaller to larger cities is becoming, if not the rule, certainly more frequent, makes the city-manager profession one of the most attractive fields of public service. This volume, without romance or over-optimism, indicates progress to date and suggests the limits as well as the opportunities in this significant field for a permanent career in local government service.

The first annual issue of *The Municipal Yearbook*³⁸ appeared in 1934. Actually, this annual summary of developments in all the major fields of local government (including the country) is an expansion of the *City Manager Yearbook* which, in one form or another, has appeared since 1914. The present volume includes valuable statistics, including financial, on all the larger cities (about 225) and official directories (with information as to length of service, tenure, etc.) for all city manager cities. The introductory chapters, dealing with problems of finance, administration, citizen participation in government, changes in structure of local government, and the new relations between the federal government and cities, are highly useful and usable essays in the interpretation of the rapidly changing field of local government. It can fairly be called the most indispensable single volume on local government for school libraries; the bibliography lists current official reports and unofficial publications of the year, and makes easily available a selected list of documents which may usefully be added to the library.

Two other annuals may be noted briefly. *The American Civic Annual*³⁹ contains

³⁶ C. E. Ridley and O. F. Nolting, *City Manager Profession*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$2.00.

³⁷ L. D. White, *The City Manager*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

³⁸ Ridley and Nolting, eds., *Municipal Yearbook*, 1934. Chicago: Chicago International City Managers' Association. \$4.00.

³⁹ Harlean James, *American Civic Annual*. Washington, D.C.: American Civic Association, Inc. \$3.00.

general articles and bibliographies on the broad social interests and activities of our cities, such as city planning, recreation, welfare, public works. *The Municipal Index*⁴⁰ lists developments in technical municipal and state services, such as streets, fire and police equipment and practices, water supply, sewage disposal, snow removal, parks and playgrounds. And the documentary materials available, for the local community and for all the larger cities, as well as with respect to particular functions or activities, are even more numerous than for state government and offer a rich source for supplementary class materials. To take but a single example, the reports of the *Michigan Commission of Inquiry into County, Township, and School District Government*⁴¹ are pertinent wherever a study of local government units and activities is undertaken.

Among the special studies published during 1934, one is of particular significance to students of local administration. *The Units of Local Government*⁴² is the first comprehensive attempt to study the areas, by type and size, and frequency, into which local government in this country is dissected. Professor Anderson finds that there are at present 175,418 "units" varying from insignificant areas to San Bernardino County, California, which is nearly two and one-half times the size of Massachusetts. He concludes that local administration would be more effective and less costly with about 10 per cent of that number of units. This study is of first-rate reference value for the study of local government.

Of all the problems confronting government today, that of planning, in its broad as in its narrower terms, is the most persistent and the most significant. From local planning to regional, the issues are being clarified and the techniques developed and integrated. Local planning has the longest history and the most thoroughly tested principles. The application of these principles is already widespread; the United States Department of Commerce includes a division on planning which maintains an up to date listing of planning agencies and of planning and zoning developments throughout the country. *Model Laws for Planning Cities, Counties, and States*,⁴³ written by four of the outstanding leaders in planning legislation in the country, consolidates present experience and provides, as the title suggests, forms for planning for the smallest hamlet to a state-wide area. As guides to practice and as litmus papers for testing existing planning and zoning laws, these papers offer an invaluable basis for study.

The most important social element in local planning is buildings—their types, functions, and locations. Three interesting studies have appeared during the year, each with a particular relevancy to present-day American developments. *Modern Housing*⁴⁴ surveys the foreign as well as the American field, and indicates the fiscal as well as the social costs in the haphazard building that has characterized this country. No one who observes the great public housing projects, carried out abroad by national as well as local governments, as described and illustrated in this volume, can ignore the comparisons with American conditions. Here is certainly the most usable study of housing which has yet appeared; it should be available in every urban high school as a chart of what is possible once the demand for decent housing becomes articulate.

⁴⁰ New York: *The American City Magazine* (annual).

⁴¹ Michigan Commission of Inquiry, 936 National Bank Building, Detroit, Michigan.

⁴² W. Anderson, *Units of Local Government*. Chicago: Public Administration Clearing House. 75c.

⁴³ E. Bassett, *Model Laws for Planning Cities, Counties, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

⁴⁴ C. Bauer, *Modern Housing*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. \$5.00.

*The Design of Residential Areas*⁴⁵ is the most comprehensive available review of the factors underlying a sound housing program, especially with reference to this country. These factors result from the natural features basic to the various neighborhood areas of an urban community, and from the social factors which determine their use. The most difficult problem of the planner of good housing results from the constantly shifting patterns of individual and group interests in any given area, which converts it from a desirable to a "blighted" location—or vice versa. Dr. Adams is concerned with exploring the factors, economic and social, which determine trends, and with suggesting methods for stabilizing conditions of land value and use, an indispensable prerequisite to a long-range housing program; no recent study is so comprehensive in approach or so thorough in treatment.

While *Building to the Skies*⁴⁶ is not the first book about the skyscraper it is one of the most illuminating. Written by a British pioneer in American skyscraper design, in non-technical language (but with sound architectural treatment of the various topics), and profusely illustrated, it is a useful introduction to the most outstanding American contribution to architecture. The author's treatment might well have included some consideration of the skyscraper's social results—in congested streets and transportation facilities, in the uneconomic use of land and capital—as elements in its appraisal.

FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

General. When we turn from the American scene to survey the literature dealing with foreign governments, we find a no less active interest in their organization and operations. Beside a number of special studies of particular countries to be noted below, 1934 saw the issue of several first-rate comparative descriptions and appraisals of the governmental process abroad.

*A Guide to Modern Politics*⁴⁷ continues the authors' brilliant essays in synthesis. As in others of their books, they attempt here a survey of all the major countries, including Turkey, Japan, China, and India. In the twenty-odd pages devoted to each, it is, of course, impossible to set forth the details of governmental structure or procedure; rather the authors draw penetrating and on the whole impartial conclusions from a knowledge much wider than the facts of organization and activity which they adduce. But for the expert in the field, almost as much as for the layman, the conclusions which they draw concerning the "political systems of today" will be stimulating and pertinent.

The authors proceed from mere description to discuss some of the underlying political issues of the present—the function of the political machine and the emergence of new types of political leadership, the theoretical and practical power and position of the modern state, the survival of "political principles" (such as order and liberty, and security), a prognostication of "the future." They suggest the two major problems, upon which the future of democracy depends: the creation of emotional loyalties capable of sustaining the will to rational solutions for the constantly increasing complexity of the problems thrust upon government by the exigencies of modern industrial society, and the balance between local initiative and expert (and necessarily centralized administration of the great social and economic services which are inevitably being

⁴⁵ T. Adams, *The Design of Residential Areas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$3.50

⁴⁶ A. C. Bossom, *Building to the Skies*. New York: The Studio. \$4.50.

⁴⁷ G. D. H. and M. I. Cole, *A Guide to Modern Politics*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.00.

subjected to government controls). The answers to these questions will determine the form, even the survival, of democracy in the historical sense; the Coles believe in an emergent social system and consider the form it will take less important than the spirit with which it is informed. It is, without question, the most significant single volume of descriptions and interpretation about foreign governments available today.

*New Governments in Europe*⁴⁸ is a composite "still" picture of the political situation in early 1934 in Italy, Germany, the Baltic states, Russia, and Spain, by the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association. Almost exclusively factual (there is a brief introductory chapter on "the attack on democracy"), the volume is a valuable and on the whole reliable source of information on the actual form, conduct, and programs of government in the countries discussed.

*The Experiment with Democracy in Central Europe*⁴⁹ treats some of these governments, and those of the Succession States, in terms of an analytical rather than a descriptive comparison. Such questions as federalism, the electorate, the titular executive, parliament, the second chamber are discussed in the light of post-war experience in the states which drafted new constitutions. The author has utilized a very wide range of original materials and produced the most valuable analysis which has yet been made of post-war governments in the new democracies. Both these volumes will prove useful reference works in the school library.

*The Background of European Governments*⁵⁰ is the first, and a highly successful, attempt to provide a book of readings from official documents and other relevant sources for courses in comparative government. About 40 per cent of the book is devoted to Great Britain; France, Russia, Germany, and Italy receive from 70 to 110 pages each. The materials are carefully selected to illustrate the dynamic elements in governmental processes as well as political ideas and party activities. It will prove invaluable to an understanding of government abroad today.

Two volumes of unusual interest in the interpretation of the development of political democracy and autocracy appeared in 1934. *Crisis Government*,⁵¹ reminiscent of Laski's *Democracy in Crisis*, is a brilliant criticism of existing trends in government. Professor Rogers surveys the general drift toward executive domination—even in the remaining governments where representative or parliamentary democracy survives—and suggests many doubts as to the immortality of dictatorship as a working formula for the modern state. He draws the contrast between domestic and international politics; in the former executives are overbalancing legislatures, while in the sphere of international relations there is no executive organ, not even, in fact, an established and generally accepted constitutional system. Finally he discusses the changes "from Hoover to Roosevelt" and illustrates his thesis of the significance of leadership from the political activities of the two presidents. Roosevelt possesses "a greater knowledge of political psychology than any other statesman of whom I have seen any public record"; perhaps part of his genius lies in his "unwillingness to formulate any rigid doctrine."

While Rogers is in general a supporter of the New Deal, he is not blind to its

⁴⁸ R. L. Buell, ed. *New Governments in Europe*. New York: Foreign Policy Association. \$2.50.

⁴⁹ A. J. Zurcher, *The Experiment with Democracy in Central Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

⁵⁰ Hill and Stoke, *The Background of European Governments*. New York: American Book Co., 1935. \$3.00.

⁵¹ L. Rogers, *Crisis Government*. New York: Norton. \$1.75.

tendencies and inconsistencies. "Without a dictatorship we have more of a totalitarian state than can be found anywhere save Russia. . . . Mr. Roosevelt has demonstrated that you can have all the advantages of a dictatorship and not abandon democracy. . . . Instead of storm troops he has public backing. . . . In 1932 few would have believed it possible that a country which had not challenged Mr. Hoover's platitudes could, a year later, accept without serious question (the Roosevelt program). . . . (But) Electoral mobility is ominous as well as encouraging, for it indicates that the electorate may be persuaded to go to an opposite extreme."

Brief, incisive, pertinent, *Crisis Government* is one of the most important books of the year for an understanding of current trends in governments here and abroad.

*Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal-Democratic State*⁸² is wider in scope and more thoroughly documented than *Crisis Government*. The author surveys the internal working, particularly as to social changes and economic developments in their reaction upon political ideas and patterns, of the Italian, Russian, German and democratic systems of state organization. There is a surprising amount of detail as to all aspects of state organization. There is a surprising amount of detail as to all aspects of these systems—materials, however, which do not get in the way of the clarity of the author's penetrating analysis, from a fundamentally "liberal democratic" viewpoint, of the inconsistencies and "contradictions" of the various systems. Nor does his faith in a possible world of freedom and self-discipline blind him to the exigencies and inefficiencies, for that very end, of the democratic state identified, as it is almost universally, with the capitalist system—now, he believes, moving toward "twilight." "Everything points toward an eventual functional organization of society under a technological control competent to create a genuine social mechanism." Dr. Parmelee is not sanguine of a rapid or easy transition, but he has written a thoroughly documented and wisely critical appraisal of the various "proposed roads to freedom" now being tried by the major governments. No single volume fuses so well the economic and social problems of our time with the political experiments for their solution.

Perhaps the most important "staff" service in modern governments is the control of finance. In *Budget in Governments of Today*,⁸³ Dr. A. E. Buck, perhaps the foremost American authority on the subject, has compared the budgetary procedures of a dozen of the major countries. Treated broadly and with a mastery of detail, much of it obtained at first hand, this volume is not only the most comprehensive study of national budgeting which we have, but a genuine contribution to an objective appraisal of our own budget system. In force for only fifteen years, it has already profoundly affected the fiscal policy of succeeding administrations. The author's suggestions for its improvement—designed primarily to secure increased executive initiative, and, therefore, responsibility—are a useful guide to future budgetary reform.

Great Britain. The most important book on British government which has appeared during the past year is *English Local Government*.⁸⁴ Dr. Finer is one of the two or three outstanding authorities on the development of local government in England. It is the first detailed study attempting to cover in a single volume the whole field in its legal, structural, functional, and financial phases, since Redlich and Hirst's monu-

⁸² M. F. Parmelee, *Bolshevism, Fascism, and the Liberal-Democratic State*. New York: Wiley. \$2.25.

⁸³ A. E. Buck, *Budget in Governments of Today*. New York: Macmillan. \$3.00.

⁸⁴ H. Finer, *English Local Government*. New York: Columbia University Press. \$5.50.

mental work of *English Local Government* published in 1903. Only the special studies of the Webbs have been of significant administrative interest and importance. The author is doubtful about the future of local government; modern trends toward large scale enterprise and impatience with traditional political and administrative procedures infringe upon its effective operation. He suggests improved administrative services, more effective research—through closer contact between officials and private agencies, and the raising of professional standards through the various associations of local government officials, greater attention to publicity, "selling" the results of government to the people—as elements making for a revival of respect for and interest in local government.

When we turn from local to national government, two books of unusual interest may be briefly noted. The "Mother of Parliaments" is increasingly the subject of attack, especially from the left. Lord Allen of Hurtwood in *Britain's Political Future*⁵⁵ makes a case for democracy as a working formula of government most likely to protect those interests in personality and individual freedom upon which it was originally staked. He does not argue about what policy or program would suit England best but what procedure for attainment it is most likely to find response among the masses and to protect their interests. His argument is a persuasive one for those who believe in democracy for its own sake.

If he disclaims "any attempt to offer a complete program," G. R. Mitchison's *The First Workers' Government*⁵⁶ attempts exactly that. Written from the perspective of 1980 "by an author with a lively imagination" it is a description and a "time table" of the actual program of the first government which comes into power in 1936. Precise, detailed, factual, it is stimulating, even provocative, in its clear-cut program for the left-wing of the British Labor Party. No one who reads it will come away without seeing more sharply the explicit as well as the implicit program and methods of socialism as it might be applied in an industrialized nation by a government with power as well as office.

An unofficial conference of leading experts from all its members met in Canada in 1933 to discuss the working of the British Commonwealth system. The summary of their proceedings has been published under the title *British Commonwealth Relations*;⁵⁷ it is an invaluable gauge of opinion, and of feeling, in the various states of members of the Commonwealth upon such matters as separate diplomatic relations and treaty making, the status of High Commissioners, the development of a Commonwealth supreme court. A companion volume, a product of the conference, *Consultation and Coöperation in the British Commonwealth*,⁵⁸ is the most thorough study available of actual present practice in every important aspect of intra-Commonwealth and foreign relations. It will long remain an indispensable reference work, for most of the important documents of constitutional significance for the Commonwealth and a comprehensive bibliography are included.

Germany. From the flood of literature, native and foreign, issuing from the presses about Hitler's Germany, one book translated into English is of outstanding importance.

⁵⁵ Lord Allen, *Britain's Political Future*. London: Longmans. 6/1.

⁵⁶ G. R. Mitchison, *The First Workers' Government*. London: Gollancz. 5/1.

⁵⁷ A. J. Toynbee, ed., *British Commonwealth Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press. \$4.00.

⁵⁸ G. A. Palmer, ed., *Consultation and Co-operation in the British Commonwealth*. New York: Oxford University Press. \$5.00.

Konrad Heigen's *History of National Socialism*⁵⁹ will long remain the most authoritative account of the rise to power, program, and the first stages of its execution, of the Hitler government. The author, a German journalist, early began the systematic collection of all available documents of the movement. From them he has constructed a history which if not a sympathetic—he is not a Nazi and writes with the critical candor of an opponent of many of the government's actions—is, at least, a thoroughly documented and seasonably detached account. No one who desires to know the detailed story of national socialism can get along without this book.

The Hitler Decrees,⁶⁰ now in its second edition, is a useful compilation of the principal documents of the regime—from the "25 Points" to the decrees of late 1934.

*Hitler's Official Program*⁶¹ is the official statement of the National Socialist program as formulated by the (until recently sidetracked) chief economic adviser of Hitler. It is an indispensable and readable brief of and for the Party.

*The Growth of Executive Power in Germany*⁶² is the first study in English of the Presidential office under the Weimar constitution and through the accession of Hitler. The author's conclusion is that von Hindenburg "by his actions produced the eclipse of the constitution to which he had sworn an oath and threatened the end of the presidency itself." Many interesting comparisons may be drawn from this study between practical executive irresponsibility under Article 48 of the Weimar constitution and under the grants of power in the New Deal legislatures here. As an essay in administration, Dr. Heneman's study fills an important gap in the literature.

*German Election Administration*⁶³ is a detailed study of one of the most interesting post-war electoral systems. It is pertinent to note that election cost and spoiled ballots in Germany, even with proportional representations, are insignificant as compared with this country; the highest total cost in 11 nations elections (for the combined run-off elections of 1926) was only 4,116,229 marks, while the ratio of invalid ballots was .014 per cent and usually runs .007 per cent.

Russia. Two books of particular importance to students of Russian government appeared in 1934. *Russia's Iron Age*⁶⁴ is William H. Chamberlin's valedictory upon his 12 years in the Soviet Union as a correspondent. His earlier book, *Soviet Russia*, was the most comprehensive account in English of the Russian experiment; in that volume he was generally sympathetic to the program and achievements of the new regime. In the present, his more personal reflections upon six or seven years' further experience in Russia have become more adversely critical; he appraises the regime largely in terms of its effects upon individuality and personal freedom. The study is more impressionistic, but not less valuable than his previous book. If the general tone is much less enthusiastic about the present government, the reader cannot fail to recognize the sincerity and objectivity of the author's judgments. He does not feel the gains are worth the cost in individual and group suppression. He believes that "a little leaven of doubt and skepticism" (filtered) into the pure yeast of Communist "dogma" would improve the viability of a system of which "greater stabilization, growing nationalism and in-

⁵⁹ K. Heiden, *History of National Socialism*. London: Methuen. 15/1.

⁶⁰ J. K. Pollock and H. J. Heneman, *The Hitler Decrees*. Ann Arbor: authors, 75c.

⁶¹ G. Feder, *Hitler's Official Program*. London: Allen & Unwin. 2/6.

⁶² H. J. Heneman, *The Growth of Executive Power in Germany*. Minneapolis: Voyageur Press. \$2.50.

⁶³ J. K. Pollock, *German Election Administration*. New York: Columbia University Press. 50c.

⁶⁴ W. H. Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$4.00.

creasing material inequality" are the three most significant long-term trends. This book will remain a landmark in the literature on Russia, important to the student of government because of its temperate but revealing study of civil liberties in a dictatorship.

*The Soviet State*⁶⁵ is the first governmental study of Russia to be attempted by an American. It is useful primarily for its description of many little-known aspects of the political system, such as municipal government, municipal finance and planning, rural and provincial government, as well as of the internal administrative organization of the central government. Consideration is also given to most of the important codes. The approach is primarily legal; the materials are presented without any attempt at comparison or appraisal.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The volume of literature dealing with all phases of international law and relations showed no signs of abatement during 1934, indeed, its variety and scope widened as new topics, such as the munitions problem, and economic nationalism became subjects of general interest and debate. No survey of the literature can pretend to completeness within the limits available; in this section some of the important publications will be considered under four headings—general and regional international relations, war and peace, international law, and American foreign policy, economic and political.

General and Regional International Relations. The eighth series of *Problems of Peace*,⁶⁶ the lectures given annually at the Geneva Institute of International Relations by distinguished experts from many countries, includes in the 1934 volume fourteen essays upon a wide variety of questions of general interest, not only with respect to activities of the League but to such matter as New Deal legislation and international relations, public works and the world crisis, Far Eastern questions, and the international gold standard. This series has become one of the most usable aids to objective judgments upon current international relations from the liberal viewpoint and this year's volume is of special interest because of the sharp challenges to internationalism in the recent politics of the United States, Germany, and Japan.

One of the problems least explored in international relations is the control of propaganda by governments and private interests bent on directing opinion at home and abroad. *Mobilizing for Chaos*⁶⁷ is the first serious attempt to portray and appraise the methods and effects of post war policies and techniques. The author, himself a journalist with wide practical experience, has written a dispassionate—and all the more convincing—record of behind-the-scenes manipulation of the news for and by the special interests of governments and private groups, and the policies of control and censorship, not only of the news, but of the means of communication like the cables and radio, elaborated during the past fifteen years. The title indicates the author's viewpoint; he believes that "if public opinion persists in abandoning its democratic theories for the totalitarian state, there is nothing to be done but to accept the inevitable and gird for a warfare between nations which will be made inescapable by the enchainment of human intelligence through propaganda."

There have been very few studies of the part foreign policy plays in the general

⁶⁵ B. W. Maxwell, *The Soviet State*. Topeka: Steves and Weyburn. \$3.50.

⁶⁶ *Problems of Peace, Eighth Series*. New York: Oxford University Press. \$2.75.

⁶⁷ O. W. Riegel, *Mobilizing for Chaos*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

program and attitudes of political parties. *Foreign Relations in British Labor Politics*⁶⁸ is not only "a study of the formation of party attitudes on foreign affairs" but "of the application of political pressure designed to influence government policy" in Great Britain during the period of the rise to political influence of the party from 1900 to 1924. The author points out how the interplay of leadership within the party of men who sensed the significance of international policy for the general program of the party, and of the international socialist movement with which the British Labor Party was affiliated, vitalized foreign policy as a significant element in the loyalty of rank and file, and created the mass support upon which parliamentary activity rested. It is not only a revealing study of the period in British foreign affairs, but a pioneer essay in the all too little explored incubation of foreign policy within the womb of domestic politics.

The *Survey of International Relations, 1933*⁶⁹ continues a really indispensable series of current running accounts edited by Arnold J. Toynbee, of the main threads in international politics. Each volume contains comprehensive reviews of several questions of major importance and provides the most valuable single source for an understanding of the attitudes and interests of the powers concerned. With the companion annual volume, *Documents on International Affairs*, it has become the most authoritative analysis of contemporary international politics available.

*An Atlas of Current Affairs*⁷⁰ is a most ingenious attempt at visual education in international relations. In 74 maps in black and white, with a page of explanatory text for each, Mr. Horrabin, who drew the maps for Wells' *Outline of History*, has succeeded in covering all the important post war international problems of significance. These simplified, but not over simplified, maps in which the important and relevant facts are projected upon the reader's memory "by the art of leaving out," are the most direct and useful teaching "aid," and should be in every school and college classroom. Both these volumes should be kept up to date by their authors; publishers might well experiment with some kind of loose-leaf issue for this type of publication.

When we turn from general to regional international relations, we find the area of greatest ferment today undoubtedly the Far East. Without considering many valuable books dealing with events within particular countries, three of a general character may be noted. All happen to be publications of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the research reports and special studies of which have become the most important contribution toward a general public understanding of the issues in Far Eastern Affairs during the past decade, as well as a means for presenting the national viewpoints of the leaders of thought in the countries of the Pacific Rim.

*Empire in the East*⁷¹ contains ten chapters by as many American authorities upon the major issues in the area. They range from racial anthropology to missionary enterprise, from bankers to war lords. It is the best single volume for an understanding of the contemporary Far East.

*Problems of the Pacific, 1933*⁷² brings together the records of preliminary studies,

⁶⁸ W. P. Maddox, *Foreign Relations in British Labor Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

⁶⁹ A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Relations, 1933*. New York: Oxford University Press. Also, *Documents on International Affairs*.

⁷⁰ J. F. Horrabin, *An Atlas of Current Affairs*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$1.50.

⁷¹ J. Barnes, ed., *Empire in the East*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$3.25.

⁷² Institute of Pacific Relations, *Problems of the Pacific, 1933*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$5.00.

and discussions of the Fifth Conference of the Institute. The principal questions discussed were economic; research contributions and forthright arguments from the delegates from the ten countries members of the Institute, explain if they do not reconcile the conflicting interests of the Pacific powers. With records of the earlier biennial conferences, the present volume is a significant contribution to an appreciation of the problems which confront the statesmen of these countries.

*Economic Handbook of the Far East*¹³ has been described as "the most impressive collection of facts about the Pacific countries which has been attempted." Without interpretation, it presents the latest and carefully checked statistics concerning population, land utilization, food production and consumption, transportation, public finance, capital movements, trade, mineral, agricultural, and textile products, for all the countries of the area. With *Ores and Industry in the Far East*¹⁴ it provides a definitive summary of the facts of 1934. With the data and viewpoints presented in these books, it is difficult to escape the conclusion expressed by many of the authorities quoted that the most urgent issue in the region is the elimination of those foreign interests and control which, justifiable or not, are looked upon by the Eastern peoples as imperialist, and prejudicial to their self-development, economically and politically.

War and Peace. Of all the international questions agitating the public's thought in every country today, none is so acute as the issue of war or peace. The general direction of post-war peace efforts has been toward the creation of international organization. More recently—or perhaps perennially—the problem of war itself, the problem of war itself, the motivation in individuals and groups underlying it, the interests supporting it, the physical and psychological effects resulting from it, have received attention. There are various lines of attack: the pacifist, the economic interpretist, the war-and-civilizationist. Each of these had at least one important spokesman in 1934.

*Peace with Honor*¹⁵ is a brilliant exposition of the pacifist argument for a national policy not merely of non-aggression but of non-resistance to aggression as the most certain road to international peace. Whether one agrees or not with the conclusion, the logic is one that originates in the same major premise—the self-interest of state—upon which militarists depend. If the "case" seems a strange one to many, the course of the argument is receiving attention from practical statesmen as well as from pacifists, as evidenced, for instance, by the new directions in which European "pacts" are tending with respect to air forces and "moral aggression."

*The Power of Non-Violence*¹⁶ challenges current concepts regarding "human nature" by presenting the actual development of mutual coöperation and the frustration of hatred and violence by positive goodwill in such movements as that of Gandhi. To the extent that the examples adduced by the author meet the actual conditions of modern international war, they buttress the pacifist argument against it.

*Merchants of Death*¹⁷ is the best of the books about the international manufacture and trade in arms, a trade brought into public awareness by the article "Arms and the Men" (*Fortune Magazine*, March 1934), and since explored in detail for this

¹³ F. V. Field, ed., *Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co. \$5.00.

¹⁴ H. F. Bain, ed., *Ores and Industry of the Far East* (Second Edition). New York: Council on Foreign Relations. \$3.00.

¹⁵ A. A. Milne, *Peace with Honor*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.00.

¹⁶ R. B. Gregg, *The Power of Non-Violence*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$2.50.

¹⁷ Engelbrecht and Hanighen, *Merchants of Death*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.50.

country by the Nye Committee. This volume is largely historical, carefully documented, conservative in its conclusions, telling in its mobilization of the facts. If there is an economic interpretation of war, not in its long-range imperialistic sense, but in the immediate and specific presence of economic interests favoring war within the individual state, here it is.

The League of Nations and other agencies for the prevention of war have received rather less attention during recent years. *Labor in the League System*⁷⁸ is the first comprehensive study in English of the International Labor Organization—the one post-war agency of coöperation which the United States has joined.

Finally, there is the approach to war of that school which sees in the next war an eclipse of even the material—to say nothing of the cultural—heritage of western civilization. Anyone who has read *What Would Be the Character of Another War*,⁷⁹ written by military experts from eleven countries will hardly dispute the argument. *The Air Menace and the Answer*⁸⁰ is a more detailed study of chemical and aerial warfare. The author comes to the same general conclusion—that no effective large scale defense against either is today feasible and that, therefore, the alternative to wholesale civilian destruction in the next war is complete international control. Thus the indictment of war in current literature comes full circle. Whether it is complete without a reconsideration of the economic argument (to be discussed further), it is exploring new fields and positing old arguments in unequivocal fashion.

International Law. American contributions to international law—and, with one exception, these alone will be considered here—have been continuous both in the practical and in the literary sense.

*The Permanent Court of International Justice*⁸¹ is the first inclusive study in any language of the jurisprudence of the Court, and will take a definitive place in the literature upon it. Professor Hudson's continuous study of the court for a dozen years has here been brilliantly synthesized; his reasoned and objective analysis of the legal results of American adherence upon the control of our foreign policy will remain the verdict of the lawyers—despite the veto of the Senate. His briefer *The World Court, 1921-1934*,⁸² now in its fourth edition, provides a full account and many important documents upon its origins, organization, procedure, and work, together with abstracts of the cases and advisory opinions.

The most useful interpretation of the legal concepts elaborated and applied by the Court is *The Development of International Law by the Permanent Court of International Justice*.⁸³ The author, one of the outstanding British authorities upon international law, has considered its decisions in relation to such problems as judicial legislation, the Court and state sovereignty, and the "effectiveness of the law" in achieving the broad ends of international justice within the limits of strictly judicial interpretation. Interesting analogies have before been drawn between this Court and the Supreme Court of the United States; this is an incisive study of judicial states-

⁷⁸ F. G. Wilson, *Labor in the League System*. Stanford University: Stanford University Press. Cf. A. Wright, *The League of Nations Today*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 25c.

⁷⁹ *What Would Be the Character of Another War*. New York: Long and Smith, 1933. \$2.50.

⁸⁰ E. K. Fradkin, *The Air Menace and the Answer*. New York: Macmillan & Co. \$3.00.

⁸¹ M. O. Hudson, *The Permanent Court of International Justice*. New York: Macmillan & Co. \$5.00.

⁸² M. O. Hudson, *The World Court, 1921-1934*. New York: World Peace Foundation. \$2.50.

⁸³ H. Lauterpacht, *Development of International Law by the Permanent Court of International Justice*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.00.

manship applied to post-war international legal controversies, and offers a comparison as to the function of judges with our own court.

One of the most debated questions in international law is the "sanction" for the observance of treaties. The author of *Sanction and Treaty Enforcement*⁸⁴ doubts the effectiveness of sanctions based on force, whether in the form of economic boycotts or of collective military intervention, and buttresses his argument with a valuable historical survey of the types and modes of operation of sanctions in international relations. The approach follows closely the traditional American policy of limiting coöperation to consultation; the legal basis and effect of sanctions has not before received in this country so detailed a treatment.

When, however, the actual course and results of consultation are viewed in terms of its effectiveness as a sanction whereby the international vindication of treaty or other rights may be carried out, it becomes a matter of doubt whether it has proved successful. In *American Consultation in World Affairs*⁸⁵ a detailed and critical study of American attempts to further international collaboration in the Sino-Russian dispute of 1929, the Chaco, and the Letitia disputes in South American, and Sino-Japanese "contest" indicates its limited and often belated operation. Taken together, these two volumes are an important contribution to the problem of sanctions in international law and relations. And no subject in law or politics will be of more continuous importance during the coming years than this.

The second edition of Fenwick's *International Law*⁸⁶ more than ever marks it as the most important one-volume American "text" upon the subject. The author admirably combines the positivist with neo-naturalist viewpoint, and is as insistent upon the present limitations of the law and the need for its development and general acceptance as he is upon the concept of sovereignty. In fact, he would like to be able to "omit discussion of those paradoxical rules (of war and neutrality) which mark the failure of the community of nations to develop a more adequate system of law." It is the close relationship of the doctrine of neutrality in war and of sanctions and consultation in peace to the practical conduct of our foreign policy which is engaging increasing public attention. The school which would abandon the traditional doctrine of neutrality in favor of a system of collective guarantee sees in its maintenance an ultimate embroilment of the country in future war because of an insistence upon the rights of neutral trade. Moreover, apparent neutrality is actual partiality toward one side in the struggle—that side which happens to hold command of the sea. True neutrality in a future war would require us, according to this school, to refuse to ship to both belligerents all articles which were treated as contraband by either. Such a policy would reduce private profit but would, it is argued, relieve the government from any alleged breach of neutrality and so prove the only effective method of avoiding war.

This challenge to traditional doctrines and ideas has been brilliantly presented by Charles Warren, our wartime solicitor of the State Department, in two articles, "Troubles of a Neutral" and "Contraband and Neutral Trade."⁸⁷ They are in a sense

⁸⁴ P. S. Wild, Jr., *Sanctions and Treaty Enforcement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$2.50.

⁸⁵ R. M. Cooper, *American Consultation in World Affairs*. New York: Macmillan & Co. \$3.50.

⁸⁶ C. G. Fenwick, *International Law* (Second Edition). New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. \$4.00.

⁸⁷ Charles Warren, "Troubles of a Neutral," *Foreign Affairs*, 12 (April, 1934), 377-394. (Reprinted in *International Conciliation*, No. 301, 1934); *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* (1935), 61. Cf. also *International Conciliation*, No. 251 (1929).

a reply to John Bassett Moore's defense of the older concepts of neutrality in "*An Appeal to Reason*."⁸⁸ In the growing literature on what is perhaps the central problem in our foreign policy with respect to war, and on the effort to maintain peace through coöperation—with or without sanctions—the issues raised but not answered by the Kellogg Pact are being sharpened and their inconsistencies exposed.

POLITICAL THEORY

What the means and ends of government are has engaged thinkers from the days of Plato to our own time. The inquiry is becoming more sharply defined—or, perhaps returning to earlier definitions—in terms of the nature, operations, and objectives of power within the state.

If we consider its essence and manifestations, *Political Power*⁸⁹ is one of the two or three most significant analyses of the problem since Machiavelli and Hobbes. Merriam deals with power as an urge, a mechanism, and a process, and draws upon its psychological foundations as well as its practical manifestations in all social relationships, outside of politics as in, for the data of his study. It will long be the kernel of any discussion of power in its political aspects.

When we survey current reflections upon the objectives of government, the ends of the state—and the roads to their achievement, by consent or violence—the spectrum of opinion runs from ultra violet to infra red. A detailed analysis would require a re-statement of positions already the coin of debate. If we eliminate the voluminous literature, pro and con, about various post war "revolutions," the attack and defense of democracy as a technique of political action and of democratic programs of reform may be divided into conservative middle, and left, of many shades.

No really conservative general case has recently appeared—unless it is the books of the Russian mystic, Nicholas Berdyaev, *Christianity and Class War, End of Our Time*,⁹⁰ or Oswald Spengler's *Hour of Decision*.⁹¹ The middle ground is typified by *Preface to Action*,⁹² *The Method of Freedom*,⁹³ and *A Positive Program for Laissez Faire*.⁹⁴ The first is a comprehensive discussion, with particular reference to British conditions, of contemporary problems, to be resolved according to the author by a leftward social and economic program introduced by processes of persuasion. The second deals with the utility and utilization of traditional democratic ideals and methods—freedom of speech, representative institutions, and the like—in a changing world, while the third is the most persuasive "program" of economic control within a capitalist framework that has recently been sketched. Briefly, the author would have the government take over the monopolistic industries altogether as in practice beyond the reach of effective regulation and free the competitive from limitations on their search for survival in the battle for markets.

⁸⁸ John Bassett Moore, "An Appeal to Reason," *Foreign Affairs*, 11 (July, 1933), 547-588.

⁸⁹ C. E. Merriam, *Political Power*. New York: McGraw-Hill. \$3.00. An incisive discussion of the tactics of achieving power is to be found in C. Malaparte, *Coup d'etat*. New York: Dutton, 1932. \$2.50.

⁹⁰ N. Berdyaev, *Christianity and Class War, End of Our Time*. New York: Sheed, 1933. \$1.50 and \$2.25.

⁹¹ O. Spengler, *Hour of Decision*. New York: Knopf. \$2.50.

⁹² G. E. C. Catlin, *Preface to Action*. New York: Macmillan. \$3.00.

⁹³ W. Lippmann, *The Method of Freedom*. New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.

⁹⁴ H. C. Simons, *A Positive Program for Laissez Faire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

The literature of the left is more prolific and more precise, perhaps because it is a forecast of hopes rather than retrospect upon the actual difficulties of governing men and machines. *Prosperity or Peace*⁹⁵ represents the leftward trend of an earlier Fabian; *Fascism and Social Revolution*⁹⁶ a brilliant analysis of the present and the future by a Marxist.

When we turn from the general problem to the American scene, *The Coming American Revolution*⁹⁷ is the most trenchant and, on the whole, the most persuasive interpretation of our politico-economic issues which has yet been written. And what revolutionaries there have been in America to date have been sympathetically portrayed in *Rebel America*.⁹⁸ Is it a portent that so many of the erstwhile liberals are looking to the left? Our own orthodox revolution was sharply etched by Maxwell Anderson in *Valley Forge*⁹⁹—an acute and brilliant tract for times of social and economic stress. There is little in the interpretation of history—from any angle—that has not been said here in words of beauty and imaginative insight.

Last, but not least, *Recent Political Thought*,¹⁰⁰ by one of our ablest political theorists, is more than a comprehensive review and appraisal of the Schools since Mill; it is thoughtful and incisive in its summation of the issues within the more immediate perspective of our present queries.

⁹⁵ H. N. Brailsford, *Prosperity or Peace*. New York: Covici, Friede. \$3.00.

⁹⁶ R. P. Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution*. New York: International Publishers. \$2.25.

⁹⁷ G. Soule, *The Coming American Revolution*. New York: Macmillan. \$2.50.

⁹⁸ Symes and Clement, *Rebel America*. New York: Harper. \$3.00.

⁹⁹ M. Anderson, *Valley Forge*. Washington, D.C.: Anderson House. \$2.50.

¹⁰⁰ F. W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought*. New York: Appleton-Century. \$4.00.

Current Events in World Affairs

GEORGE H. E. SMITH

The League and Eastern Asia
Europe Opens the New Year Quietly
The United States at Home and Abroad

THE LEAGUE AND EASTERN ASIA

Serious questions face the League of Nations and the Great Powers having territorial and other interests in Eastern Asia when Japan's resignation from the League becomes effective on March 27. As usual, the larger questions will remain in the background while world attention is directed to specific issues, such as Japan's legal right to resign and the question concerning the mandated islands.

Japan's Resignation from the League. It is doubtful if any serious discussion will arise over this point. Resentful at the attitude of the League members over her activities in Eastern Asia, Japan announced her intention on March 27, 1933, to withdraw from the League. According to the League Covenant, any member may withdraw after two years notice of intention "provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal." Using as a basis Japan's activities in Manchuria in violation of the Kellogg Peace Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty, it may be held that Japan cannot legally withdraw because she has not fulfilled her obligations. The point is now being discussed; but if seriously acted upon would create an absurd situation.

Thus, while the empty shell of technicality held her to be a member, Japan would be out of the League in fact and for every practical purpose. What could be gained by such an absurdity? Could the League members hope that by holding Japan technically a member, she would be induced to perform her "obligations"—that is, give up Manchukuo and renounce her policies in Eastern Asia—merely so that she might then resign with the goodwill and God-speed of the League members? Japan saddled an enormous financial burden on her own people to separate Manchukuo from China and gain control of it. Since the drive in September, 1931, to secure and extend her foothold on the Asiatic continent, Japan violated the League Covenant, defied its members, the Great Powers, and the United States, and even disregarded her own solemn promises in the Kellogg Pact and the Washington treaty. To gain her ends she allowed nothing, at home or abroad, to restrain her. In the face of such grim determination, is it likely she will now give it all up merely to overcome a technicality and get out of the League with her own conscience clear and with the approval of the League members?

The facts are overwhelming that Japan, poor in resources of her own, has weighed conscience and League approval, and has found them wanting beside such substantial things as 500,000 square miles of the richest soil on the Asiatic continent with its thirty million people, its vast reserves of anthracite and bituminous coal and lignite, its valuable oil shale deposits, its iron, lead, gold, silver and asbestos, its new seaports and growing network of railroads, and its promise of future markets for Japanese goods. At this late date is Japan likely to surrender such obvious advan-

tages merely to remain in the League as a member in good standing? And with Japan out of the League in fact, can the League members with the flimsy club of technicality hope to compel her to do that which she refused to do when subject to friendly persuasion, world disapproval, the show of force and arms put up by China and the Great Powers, and even the opposition of considerable sections of her own people? Technically, the League members may consider her a member despite her resignation, but Japan will not pay her share of League expenses, will not send her representatives to coöperate at Geneva, will take no part in League activities; and she will go right on with her own policies in Eastern Asia.

Geneva statesmen cannot be so naïve, nor so lacking in a sense of humor, as to use such an old dodge as "you cannot leave our association" in the place of a more constructive attack on the problems involved. At the present stage of world relations, the League members have no power against a nation as prominent as Japan. Any attempt to hold her to the obligations of League membership against her will would eventually demand the use of force of some sort, if the attempt was not to turn out a sham. Exposure to ridicule over an attempt to hold to an absurdity would be far more damaging to the progress of the League than a frank appraisal of the present situation and an effort to meet it in its true light within the sphere of present limitations on international authority.

The Japanese Mandates. The question of the mandated islands provides more substance for League coercive action when Japan's resignation becomes effective; but it is just as barren of possibilities for solving Far Eastern questions as the membership technicality. At the close of the war, the question of what to do with territories wrested from the defeated arose as it has after almost every war; for although the way to the trenches was eased by many patriotic and high-sounding slogans, nations still fight for the more substantial things such as territories, raw material sources, and trade and investment privileges. Woodrow Wilson strove mightily to lift the war aims of the Allies above the material plane. From his many speeches, and from his acts at the Peace Conference, it seems fair to assume he did not want victory to be recorded in terms of a land-grabbing exercise. Other statesmen—though the number was small—supported him. They succeeded in arousing enough public opinion to impress (but not deter) those statesmen who knew why the war was fought and what they wanted out of victory for their own countries. Out of such a situation, the plebiscite schemes and the mandate device emerged.

Territories taken from Germany and Turkey were divided into three groups—A, B, and C—according to the stage of development of the particular lands and people. These territories were then parceled out as a "sacred trust of civilization" to "advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility." These advanced nations were called "mandatories" (something like, trustees); and they held the conquered territories as "mandates" (trusts) subject to League supervision exercised through a Mandates Commission. The beneficiaries of these "trusts" are supposed to be the inhabitants of the particular territories—"peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." The trust is for their well-being and development. In this way, the old principle "to the victor belongs the spoils" was given a new form, as when sweets are used to surround a bitter pill. A few statesmen supported the idea in good faith, hoping that by it war-mongering among na-

tions would be deprived of its material gains and civilization raised thereby to a slightly higher level.

In the C group of these territories, there are a large number of small islands containing a total area of some 829 square miles inhabited by about 70,000 primitive people. Chief among them are the Marshall, Pelew, Caroline, Marianne or Ladrone, island groups. They are dotted about the Pacific Ocean (somewhat in the fashion of stepping stones zigzagged across a stream) in a vast triangular area formed by using the Hawaiian Islands as the apex and a line drawn from the Philippines to New Guinea as the base. These island groups were placed under the guardianship of Japan by the Council of Four at the Paris peace conference in 1919. The terms of the mandate required Japan to give an annual account of her administration to the League. Japan was not to permit traffic in slaves, liquor, drugs, and arms in the territory. She was not to interfere with religious missions, and was not to erect fortifications on the islands. At the Washington conference in 1921-1922, where several questions concerning the Pacific were decided, the United States accepted Japan's position as mandatory of these island possessions subject to the conditions above mentioned. In the passage of time, Japan exploited the islands economically and commercially, fostering the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, cocoa, coffee, cotton, and copra. At Saipan, near the American possession of Guam, Japan cut a deep waterway through the coral reef to provide, as her spokesmen explained to the Mandates Commission, a better harbor needed by the expanding sugar business. Other improvements, such as the new pier at Saipan, and anchorages in the Palua and Rota harbors, were also undertaken by Japan; and subsidies were paid to shipping companies engaged in the island's commerce.

Now that Japan is about to withdraw from the League, the question has arisen as to what should be done about this mandate. The League Covenant has no provision to cover the situation, except such as may be implied from the nature and conditions of the original grant. Japan contends that her withdrawal from the League makes no difference; that she will continue to administer the territories and report to the League as before. Back of her contention is the assertion—not made very loudly as present—that these islands came to her as part of the price of her participation in the war; and that the League has no power to alter the present situation. For their part, the members of the League are looking at the situation from two angles. First, there is the natural concern over the whole status of the mandate, or trust, idea. If the mask of trust is torn from the arrangement, the entire mandate system is likely to be called in question. Unless this mandate system stands as conceived, there is little basis for holding possessions formerly belonging to the defeated nations except the frank avowal that they are held as the spoils of war. For sometime past, Germany has been openly asserting that very conclusion. A controversy over the Japanese mandate might lead to exposures unpleasant for many nations, and an admission in bald fact of the German position. The second view apparently taken by several League members is that the mandates relationship may be used as an instrument to exercise some hold over Japan. It may be for the purpose of keeping Japan within the League membership; but this is unlikely. At the other extreme, it may give League members an excuse for their concern over developments in Eastern Asia after Japan's resignation raises a barrier against western influences; but this is only true in part because the League can get at the Far East through China and Russia and several other nations who as League members can invoke its machinery.

There is present also the feeling of outraged dignity and a desire to regain some of the prestige lost when Japan went ahead with her plans in flagrant disregard of the League.

Whatever the motives—and there are many more of them—there is every indication that the situation may give rise to serious complications. Although not a member of the League the United States through its ownership of island territories in the same area and because of the Washington treaties, may be drawn into any controversy that may arise. This could come about, for example, through the charges that in making improvements in the islands Japan is really strengthening them for military and naval purposes. Whether this is true or not, the mere charge or rumor of it can be turned into an alarm in the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and other nations having interests in the Pacific area. Such an alarm, bolstered up by the difficulties over naval armaments, Japan's ambitions in Asia, and the growing trade rivalries, may easily generate a volatile atmosphere which any event may explode to bring war down upon the world.

Now, while the world's attention is held by issues as definite as Japan's legal right to resign from the League and the mandate question, the real problem—because it is a much broader one—is obscured. Broad problems rarely form the subject-matter of modern diplomacy because diplomacy and diplomats have scarcely gone beyond the level on which Machiavelli ingeniously placed them. Broad problems are attacked, chiefly, through minor problems which reflect the broader issues; or by complete indirection through matters not even remotely connected with the main problem. This accounts for such obvious pin-pricking as an attempt to hold Japan in the League on a technicality, or to get at Japan through the mandates. Neither one reaches the main problem; both are hopeless to solve it; and they may be productive of much harm.

The one and only real problem involved is the question of Japan's extension to the mainland of Asia. From the turn of the century to the present moment, it has dominated Japanese foreign relations. Japan fought China and Russia to gain the mainland. She used all the orthodox imperialist methods—leases, spheres of influence, and the like—to achieve it. In the early stages, she was timid in pursuing it as when she accepted setbacks forced upon her by other powers at the close of the wars with China and Russia. Though a little bolder in the 21 demands of 1915, Japan still proceeded cautiously. Even as late as the Washington conference, she yielded to outside pressures. But of late years she has come out into the open about her aims, persisting in the face of world disapproval of her acts and showing a willingness to undertake serious war to gain her ends. Instead of forcing her to give way, opposition has only driven her to become more obstinate, as the Manchurian episode and the naval arms discussions amply show.

In whatever light we view events in Eastern Asia during the past decade, this much is certain: Japan has become a continental power in addition to being an island kingdom. This fact completely alters economics and politics, in the Far East, and the sooner the world admits it the better. Japan cannot be persuaded to give up her new status; she might only be driven from it. To drive her from the continent is fraught with too much collateral danger, and success is by no means certain. At the present time, Japan is engaged in rounding out the frontiers of the principal territory she controls. For this she uses bandits, Chinese hostility, the fear of Communism and other

dodges, as excuses for her acts. There are certain to be many more skirmishes such as the recent one on January 23 in the province of Chahar where the boundary between China and Japanese-controlled Manchukuo (including Jehol) still remains undefined. How far inland into Inner Mongolia, and how far northwest into the Russian sphere of influence in Outer Mongolia, Japan will go remains a delicate problem for the future. Nor is the future entirely free from witnessing the expansion into China proper as far south as the Shantung peninsula. With Russia establishing the foundation for a new national life, with China in the process of disorganization and re-formation, with Japan firmly entrenched on the Asiatic mainland, the present is a delicate and momentous era in the Far East.

In this light, Japan's position in Asia is the real problem. It cannot be waived aside merely because it is a broad problem with many sides to it. Nor can it be solved by trusting to time and chance, nor by trying to level a cannon at Japan through the peep-holes of League technicalities and Japan's mandate obligations. Time is too precious and the issues too momentous for the Great Powers to dally with such picayune methods. Important problems demand instrumentalities adequate to cope with them. Shaking sticks at Far Eastern problems cannot solve them any more than teaspoons could have made the Culebra cut in the Panama Canal. The League activities during the Manchurian episode and since show that Geneva is physically and psychologically too far from Eastern Asia to be the sole instrument capable of solving problems in that area. Something in the nature of a permanent, semi-independent, regionally representative body is required in Eastern Asia to serve the interests and get at the problems of the nations having definite associations in that area. If the League does not take the initiative in bringing such a body into existence, Japan will do it, possibly with much less impartiality. Located in Asia, well staffed with experts of broad views, directed by a capable executive, such an institution should be clothed with powers of investigation and study, and it should be ready to provide subordinate institutions of executive, legislative and judicial character, not only for the purpose of restraining abuses of power but to aid all the countries in the area in the advancement of their interests and the solution of their common problems. That some such institution will have to be contrived is now almost necessary if the East and the West are to continue in some workable and peaceable relation in the future. Already Tokyo, Geneva, and Washington are too far apart for the future peace of the world.

EUROPE OPENS THE NEW YEAR QUIETLY

In contrast to the excitement in the last quarter of 1934, the opening of the New Year in Europe passed in considerable quietude. The checkered pattern of events was comprised almost wholly of minor matters.

The Saar Returned to Germany. After a turbulent campaign, the January vote in the Saar Territory was orderly and quiet. It resulted in a vote overwhelmingly in favor of a return of the area to Germany. At a League Council meeting on January 17, a resolution was adopted fixing March 1, 1935, "for the re-establishment of Germany in the government of the Territory of the Saar Basin." In the interval, a committee acting in consultation with the French and German governments and with the Saar Governing Commission, will make the necessary adjustments for the change or report them to the Council by February 15 for settlement. In a broadcast marking the event, Chancellor Hitler hailed the vote in words of some significance when he declared:

"The Saarlanders' decision permits me to make a solemn declaration; that is, with the return of the Saar to Germany we have no more territorial claims to make of France." And with France satisfied in the possession of Alsace-Lorraine, this sentiment may very well be mutual. Not as much can be said concerning Germany's eastern frontiers even though the Polish Corridor question has been temporarily pushed in the background.

France and Italy Come to Terms. France spends a good deal of time setting the European garden outside her borders in order. Every once in a while matters get out of hand and France proceeds patiently to set them to rights. The latest of her efforts is the working agreement reached with Italy. In the colonial sphere, France ceded to Italy 44,000 square miles of territory south of Italy's Libyan colony in Africa, and a strip of land containing about 400 square miles along the coast south of Italian Eritrea which gives Italy a shore-line on the Gulf of Aden. France also consented to arrangements whereby Italy will have a share in the French railway from Addis Ababa, the Abyssinian capital, to the coast. This is expected to strengthen Italy's hand in Abyssinia and to insure for her a larger share of the lucrative trade along the line of the railway. Other agreements concerning African affairs provide for questions touching the nationality and educational privileges of Italian residents in Tunis.

The matter of Austrian independence being of importance to both countries, France and Italy agreed to recommend that the powers concerned conclude a non-intervention treaty touching each others' internal affairs, and agreeing not to give any aid to movements directed at disturbing each other's territorial integrity by violence. While the form of the proposal covers a wide scope, it is contemplated specifically that such a treaty will assure and guaranty Austria's independence. Pending such a treaty, France and Italy have agreed "to consult between themselves" in the event that Austria's independence is threatened.

The understanding on the question of German rearmament is that "France and Italy found themselves in agreement that no power may modify by unilateral acts its obligations in the matter of armaments, and that if this eventuality should come to pass they will consult together." In view of the fact that Germany has already by "unilateral" acts "modified" its obligations on armaments, some question has arisen over the worth and meaning of the declaration. In some quarters, it is interpreted as a step toward providing for German equality in arms; in others, as merely a warning to Germany that she cannot expect to rely on Italian support as against France.

The long-term results of the accord are likely to be of value only in that they remove the chances of friction between France and Italy in Africa. Important as they are, France and Italy cannot frame the last words on Austrian independence or German rearmament. The African agreement might even have made it possible for a settlement of affairs between Italy and Abyssinia which have been pending before the League Council; for it was reported on January 20 that owing to concessions made by Italy the Council continued the boundary dispute without taking any other action.

The League and the Chaco War. A significant decision was made by the League of Nations Assembly's Chaco committee when, on January 16, it unanimously recommended that all League members remove the arms embargo against Bolivia and tighten it as against Paraguay. For years, a dispute has been waged over the question of identifying an aggressor nation, and here out of a patient attempt to end the senseless war in South America the League determines the fact in an actual case. Should

Paraguay fail to comply with League measures designed to end the Chaco war by February 24, Bolivia will be free from her League obligations to wage a "legal" war against Paraguay. Since both parties are actually at war at the present time, this might not mean so much were it not for the fact that Bolivia stands to gain the approval and perhaps the active assistance, through arms shipments and in other ways, of the League members. Several delegations supported Russia and Sweden in calling for even stronger measures; but the League, keenly aware of the limitations on its power, acted cautiously as it has done on almost all occasions in the past. How this action will be viewed by the United States, which now has in effect an arms embargo against both nations, is a matter of conjecture since the original proclamation last May was made by President Roosevelt under authority of a Congressional resolution. In all likelihood, the United States will take no further action since its official acts in matters of this kind have tended more toward absolute neutrality rather than taking sides.

THE UNITED STATES AT HOME AND ABROAD

No Entangling Alliances Through the World Court. The Senate's refusal to sanction America's entrance into the World Court placed on record almost at the outset of the session a major defeat for administration policies in the field of foreign affairs. Such action was unexpected. President Roosevelt placed the weight of his office and prestige in favor of the Court in a special message urging adherence. A Democratic Congress, impliedly pledged to support the administration, was at his disposal—so newspaper commentators declared. Until the very last few days before the vote, Senator Robinson, in charge of the administration forces, seemed confident that while the opposition might storm and splutter, the margin would be safely on the side of the Court when the vote was cast. Yet twenty Democrats voted against Senate approval when the count showed seven votes short of the two-thirds required. The reasons for the defeat include the listlessness and tactical blunders of the Court proponents, the unexpected strength of the opposition under Senator Johnson's leadership, the unexpected show of public opinion which brought more than 40,000 telegrams of protest against the Court in the few days before the vote, and the disturbed state of affairs in foreign countries during recent years. The adverse vote is less likely to affect our foreign policies than it may the Roosevelt domestic program; for the vote will lead many to conclude that the President, even with the country and the Congress "in the hollow of his hand," can be defeated.

And yet almost on the same day, delegates of the United States were quietly admitted to participation in the International Labor Office, one of the autonomous bodies of the League of Nations. The non-political character of this institution, as against the alleged political complexion of the World Court, might have had much to do with influencing the Congress last spring to approve American participation in the International Labor Office.

On domestic affairs, the Congress achieved very little final action on any of the important bills laid before it. Most of the time has been taken up with the President's messages, departmental and other reports, hearings on the bills, and the continuation of the many investigations previously commenced. At this writing, the only bill of importance finally passed and sent to the President for signature is that continuing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The relief bill, the social security program, the future of the N.R.A., unification of transportation agencies, the bonus

question, budget legislation, and various other matters still remain in abeyance. In an opinion handed down on January 7, the Supreme Court virtually nullified the oil control section of the National Industrial Recovery Act by taking the position that the Act amounts to an unauthorized and unconstitutional delegation of the legislative power. During the same session, the Court considered the cases involving the constitutionality of the laws under which the "gold clauses" in public and private contracts were voided and the value of gold itself altered in the monetary system. There was no indication when the decision in these cases would be rendered but it is expected early in February. On February 1, President Roosevelt extended the Automobile code for four months despite the objection of the American Federation of Labor unions who sought a change in the labor provisions, and who quit the Auto Labor Board in protest over its actions. In the steel industry, the Labor Board ordered elections in several companies to determine the proper labor representation. In a letter to the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, the President upheld the primary jurisdiction of code labor complaint bodies over the National Board. More significant to industry, however, was the President's order to the effect that neither the government nor any industry waives any constitutional right by "approving, assenting to, or coöperating under a code of fair competition."

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR
THE SOCIAL STUDIES

HOWARD E. WILSON, *Chairman, Harvard University*

YEARBOOK ON THE SOCIAL-STUDIES CURRICULUM

Teachers of social studies and students of education generally will be interested in the fact that the 1936 *Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association is to be devoted to the social-studies curriculum. Work on the *Yearbook* is already well advanced in the hands of a commission consisting of the following: Charles B. Glenn, Superintendent of Schools, Birmingham, Alabama (Chairman); Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Connecticut; Herbert B. Bruner, Teachers College, Columbia University; Leslie A. Butler, Superintendent of Schools, Grand Rapids, Michigan; George S. Counts, Teachers College, Columbia University; Frank N. Freeman, University of Chicago; Leonard V. Koos, University of Chicago; Paul T. Rankin, Supervising Director of Instruction, Detroit; Virgil Stinebaugh, Director of Junior High Schools and Curriculum Revision, Indianapolis; Ralph W. Tyler, Ohio State University; and Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University.

The *Yearbook*, as planned, is extensive in scope and practical in its application to the social-studies field. It is to be issued in January, 1936. The Commission is extremely anxious to discover as many of the new developments in social-studies teaching as possible. All who can report on any unusual curriculum developments at any grade level are urged to communicate with Howard E. Wilson, 18 Lawrence Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Plans are already under way for a series of joint meetings between the National Council and local associations of social-studies teachers during the summer and coming autumn. The president of the Council, Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota, is planning to visit as many local groups as possible. His itinerary is being planned by the second vice-president of the organization, Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri. Groups interested in securing speakers from the National Council should communicate with Mr. Ellis.

TEACHING TIME AND PLACE RELATIONSHIPS

Teaching Time and Place Relationships in Elementary School History is the title of a Doctor's thesis recently completed at Teachers College, Columbia University, by W. Linwood Chase, Associate Professor of Education, Boston University. The effect of training in time and place-relationships on pupils' achievements in history was studied. A preliminary experiment using the equivalent-groups technique with 184 eight-grade American history pupils indicated superiority for the experimental procedure, that is, for teaching by emphasis on relationships. Both experimental and control groups were directed by the use of mimeographed study sheets. Careful analysis showed certain weaknesses in the experimental procedures employed and led to three further experiments with 173 sixth-grade pupils studying European backgrounds and

34 pupils in ninth-grade ancient history, with teaching by classroom teachers under the rotation experimental method. The control method was the traditional recitation or question-answer method. Certain detailed techniques were given teachers for the experimental procedure.

In the final group of experiments, all experimental groups showed distinct superiority in place relationships, and two of the groups in time relationships. Only one group showed a statistically significant difference in favor of the experimental procedure in "fact knowledge." However, the results show that control over time and place relationships were not developed at the expense of fact knowledge, for all experimental groups were at least as good as all control groups in fact achievement.

The author draws the following conclusions on the basis of the experiment undertaken

(1) Emphasis on learning facts in history does not increase appreciably a pupil's control over time and place relationships.

(2) If improvement in time sense and place sense is wanted, it must be brought about through direct and not incidental teaching.

(3) Achievement in time and place relationships can be secured without jeopardizing fact achievement.

(4) For the same length of work time by the pupils, greater achievement in more aspects of history learning can be secured by the "relationship method" than by the "question-answer method."

(5) Wide individual differences are apparent in ability to learn either by the "relationship method" or by the "question-answer method."

(6) Emphasis on time and place relationships by a teacher does not guarantee an increase in fact achievement in history, but does guarantee to the group as a whole distinct achievement in "time" and "place."

The author draws the following implications for teaching:

(1) Map study in history is ineffective unless carried out under the direct guidance of the teacher.

(2) Time lines are a valuable device but can easily degenerate into mere handwork.

(3) Techniques of the relationships method have high motivating possibilities.

(4) Teaching time and place relationships calls for considerable adaptation on the part of the teacher. It cannot be mechanically applied, and written or oral directions to teachers can never be more than suggestions.

(5) Pre-tests are necessary. Many teachers fail to find out what children already know about a new field to be covered in history.

(6) The longer a child has been in school, the more difficult to change his approaches to study.

(7) Emphasizing time and place factors must continue over a long period of time if the techniques are to be used voluntarily by pupils. There was little evidence that many pupils attempted to apply what they had learned as members of the experimental group to their study as members of the control group.

NEW MATERIALS FOR SOCIAL-STUDIES CLASSES

Cut-out Models of Ancient Houses. In response to numerous requests from art and history teachers, the University Museum of Philadelphia has supervised the preparation of accurate scale models of ancient domestic architecture to be colored and put together

in the schools. Drawn uniformly to a scale of $\frac{3}{8} = 1'0''$, they are complete and accurate in every detail of architecture, decoration, and furniture. Wall thickness alone has been ignored, as the models are in cardboard. The walls and furnishings are printed on water-color paper, mounted on cardboard, and come in large sheets, ready to be colored, cut out, and set up. The following houses are available:

The Roman House: First Century A.D. Based on Mau's "typical plan" of a Pompeiian house, the model illustrates the four types of Pompeiian wall painting and the four main types of Roman pavement, and demonstrates the development of Roman architecture from the Third Century B.C. to 79 A.D. Price, \$12.50, plus postage.

The Egyptian House: 1400 B.C. A restoration of the "Weinachtshaus" at Tell-el-amarna, excavated recently by British and German expeditions, it represents the main dwellings on the estate of an Egyptian nobleman at about the time of Tutankhamen. Price, \$6.50, plus postage.

The Medieval House: Fifteenth Century A.D. Reconstructed from Violet le Duc's studies in Medieval architecture and from Fifteenth Century miniatures, the house represents the home of a cloth merchant of Rouen at the beginning of the century. Price, \$4.50, plus postage. The Babylonian House: 2200 B.C. Blue print cut-out patterns for constructing in celotex a model of a town house in Ur of the Chaldees at about the time of Abraham are also available. Chiefly valuable in a study of architecture and ancient history. Price of patterns, \$1.50, post-paid.

Address inquiries for further information about the cut-out houses to the Educational Department, University Museum, 33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia.

STUDY GUIDE FOR UNIT ON CITY GOVERNMENT

Joseph B. Weene, of the Somerville (Massachusetts) High School has developed an interesting worksheet for use in the social-studies work of Grade XII. Particularly commendable is the manner in which he has focused study activities on the understandings pupils are to acquire. Typical of the materials are the first few paragraphs of the worksheet for a unit on "Problems of City Government":

Directions: This is a worksheet, a list of things to read and things to do. Much of the work will be done in the classroom, though some home work will be necessary. . . .

I. To get a general idea of city problems:

Read: Woodburn and Moran, Ch. XX, or Magruder, Chs. XXIV and XXV.

Do: 1. Outline the material in one of these books. Use double columns.

2. Write a list of ten difficult thought questions concerning city problems.

II. To understand movements toward government efficiency and reform:

A. Read: Munro, Ch. I.

Do. Make a list of the things which make city government efficient.

B. Read: "Recent Changes in City Government," *Student Service Magazine*, April, 1930, pp. 1-4.

Do: Write out the answers for Questions 2 and 3 on page 12.

III. To understand city-manager plan:

Read: Magruder, Greenan and Meredith, Woodburn and Moran, and pamphlets on teacher's desk.

Do: Imagine yourself on the editorial staff of a newspaper in a city that is considering adopting the city-manager plan. *Write* an editorial in which you try to convince your readers either that the plan is desirable or that it is undesirable. . . .

In commenting on the use of the worksheets, Mr. Weene writes: "After the worksheets were distributed, no daily assignments were given. Each worksheet covered about three weeks of work. The pupils worked at their own rate of speed under a supervised study plan. At first all exercises were written in a notebook, but it soon became evident that loose-leaf paper was best. . . . Discussion groups were conducted in the rear of the classroom with from three to twelve pupils who were working at the same task. Whenever it seemed that pupils would benefit by a halt, such as a bit of advice, the presentation of an unusually good piece of work, or a general discussion, this was done. Several members of the class acted as librarians and kept the reading material circulating."

BULLETIN OF THE MINNESOTA COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Another bulletin devoted to the interests and activities of organizations of social-studies teachers takes its place among similar bulletins already in existence in Missouri, Detroit, Boston, and Southern California. This time, it is the recently organized Minnesota Council for the Social Studies which presents its initial *Bulletin* with the January, 1935, number. The *Bulletin* contains a variety of announcements of meetings and conferences, lists the volumes of the *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*, and presents a bibliography of "Materials on Government in Minnesota," by William Anderson. Charles E. Janneck, Technical High School, St. Cloud, is president and Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota, secretary-treasurer, of the Minnesota Council.

JOINT MEETING OF MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Saturday, April 27, 10:00 A.M.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Joint meeting of the Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association
and the National Council for the Social Studies

Chairman: Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota

Panel Discussion

Topic: The Significance of the *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies*

- (1) What is the contribution of the *Report* to objectives?
- (2) What is the contribution of the *Report* to the selection, organization, and grading of materials?
- (3) What is the contribution of the *Report* to testing?
- (4) What are the broad social implications of the *Report*?
- (5) What are the next steps for the teachers?

The discussion will take into account the other volumes of the *Report* as well as the *Conclusions and Recommendations*. Each speaker will introduce the topic indicated by the number preceding his name. The introductory speeches are limited to five minutes each and subsequent discussion to three minutes for each speaker. The five

introductory speeches will all be given before the discussion starts. The audience as well as the panel are invited to participate in the discussion.

Panel: (1) Professor Fremont P. Wirth, Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee; (2) Mr. R. O. Hughes, First Vice-President, National Council for the Social Studies, Pittsburgh; (3) Professor I. O. Foster, University of Indiana, Bloomington; (4) Professor Arthur T. Volwiler, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio; (5) Professor Louis Tohill, State Teachers College, Kent, Ohio; Julian Aldrich, Senior High School, Webster Groves, Missouri; Miss Helen J. Hartman, High School, Middletown, Ohio; Miss Sarah Albray, Woodward High School, Cincinnati.

LECTURES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR ADULTS

A series of ten lectures in social science is being given in Utica, New York, this winter before an adult audience by ten members of the Colgate University faculty. This experiment in adult education has come as an outgrowth of the interest shown by adults engaged in non-academic pursuits in the material of the survey courses given at Colgate. The scope of the social-science survey is defined as a study of social change as shown in some of the more important economic, educational, political, and societal institutions in our modern social order. The course is designed: (1) to develop an appreciation of our society as a "going concern" of interdependent, inter-related institutions; (2) to make clear the essential characteristics of our more basic institutions; and (3) to point out the nature of social change and social problems.

The highlights of this course and other material have been adapted for adults into the following series of ten lectures:

- I. The Economic Order
- II-III. Factors in the Emergence of the Modern Order
- IV. Marriage and the Family
- V. Recreation and the Problem of Leisure
- VI. The Educational Order
- VII-VIII. Social Reconstruction
- IX. The Political Order
- X. Social Change and Social Problems

LEAGUE OF NATIONS' ANNUAL CONTEST

The League of Nations Association announces its Ninth Annual Contest for high-school pupils. The examination, which is open to all public high schools in the United States, will be held on March 29 in local schools. As in former years, the first national prize will be a trip to Europe featuring a stay in Geneva. Some cash prizes are also being offered as well as various local state and city prizes. Mrs. Harrison Thomas, secretary of the Association's Educational Committee which arranges the contest, reports that interest is keen this year, several hundred enrollments already having been received. This year's examination will be based on the 1934 edition of the contest textbook, *A Brief History of the League of Nations*, which came off the press in December. In response to many requests, *Suggestions for Further Reading* are being sent to every registered school, together with the textbook itself. Persons interested in the contest should communicate with the League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

AMONG THE EDUCATIONAL MAGAZINES

A clear and stimulating account of one way in which the Horace Mann School, Teachers College, Columbia University is meeting the problem of what one should teach in order to help young people gain the equipment necessary to face the demands of contemporary civilization is contained in an article in the January, 1935, number of the *Teachers College Record* entitled, "Introducing High School Students to a Study of American Civilization and Culture," and written by Mary Harden, Louise Taggart and Irene E. Lemon. In this particular course, some of the divisions of study are as follows: (1) The Use of Leisure; (2) the Rooseveltian Era; (3) Outstanding Personalities in the Twentieth Century; (4) The Vanishing Frontier; (5) Colonial Life—The Basis of American Culture; (6) Sectionalism in American Life; (7) Woman's Influence in Our National Life. The authors select the unit on the leisure time for discussion and describe the materials used and the varied activities carried on in the course of the work.

In "Training for Civic and Political Responsibilities," an article appearing in the January, 1935, number of the *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, M. B. Keck very properly emphasizes the importance of the personal qualifications and attitudes of the teachers who are to guide high-school pupils in the development of desirable social traits. The article is explicit in its suggestions for training for civic and political responsibilities.

The *Social Frontier* for January, 1935, is devoted to a symposium on "Indoctrination," and the issues bearing upon the question are presented from the points of view of a conservative educator, a progressive educator, a radical educator, a prominent Catholic layman, a leader of American communism, and a leading American fascist. The editors preface the symposium by giving a brief history of indoctrination in American education and describing the alternatives before American education today. The issue merits serious consideration by all persons concerned with the training of young people for modern-day life.

Book Notes

Japan in Crisis. By Harry Emerson Wildes. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. viii, 300. \$2.00.

Conflicts of Policy in the Far East. By George H. Blakeslee. New York: Foreign Policy Association, and World Peace Foundation, 1934. Pp. 56. Paper, 25c; cloth, 50c.

The Tanaka Memorial. Seattle: Columbia Publishing Co., 1934. Pp. 56. 25c.

The coming to the fore of the naval issue coupled with Japan's withdrawal from the League, to take effect this spring, has caused Japanese leaders and publicists to hail the year 1935 as one of crisis for the Empire. The reading of these three books will go far to explain to the reader the nature of the existing crucial tensions which exist in the Pacific and in Eastern Asia. The first work was written by a man who has lived some years in Japan and has made a first-hand study of social conditions there and particularly of the Japanese press. Herein, he portrays consistently the seamy side of contemporary Japanese life drawn for the most part from current newspapers. The style is journalistic and the wealth of specific detail makes for interest and readability. His range is wide including discussion of the spirit of Japan, the reaction against the West now prevalent, labor and farmer unrest, student strife, commercial and political corruption, lack of welfare work, autocratic police control, press control, repression in Formosa and Korea, and the dominance of the government by the militarists in the conquest of Manchuria and the establishment of "Manchoukuo." This is no picture of cherry-blossom Japan, quite the contrary; and lest the general impression gained be too dark, let the reader substitute occasionally for the word "Japan" in the text the word "United States" or "Germany" and appraise the extent to which his description fits conditions in these two countries. No attempt is made to analyze underlying conditions, to trace tendencies, nor is it well rooted in history. It tends, therefore, to superficiality and is eminently a book of the moment.

Professor Blakeslee's booklet is a careful and judicious appraisal of political conditions in the Far East. It is a fair and balanced discussion of the complex forces now operating in that region by an outstanding authority in the field. Those following the course of events in the Pacific, especially during this year and the next when outstanding political and naval readjustments will have to be made consequent upon Japan's denunciation of the Washington naval treaty following upon its demand for naval parity and the establishment of "Manchoukuo," will find that this study clarifies the conflicting issues involved.

The last named item is a reprint of the long famed so-called *Tanaka Memorial*. This alleged secret memorial of Premier Tanaka to the Japanese Emperor first saw the light of day in 1927 and has been given wide publicity by the Chinese and Western press, so much so that the Japanese Government has felt called upon to denounce it officially. If a forgery in the official sense of the word, it is nevertheless a true reflection of the mentality and avowed aims of such reactionary organizations as the Black Dragon Society which are intimately associated with the militarists. It may well have been derived from their pronunciamentos designed to arouse the public and the government to undertake an aggressive policy on the Continent. Subsequent developments in Manchuria have carried out in detail many of the points therein set forth.

This gives to the "document" a prophetic character which arouses well-grounded suspicions that it emanated from a source very close to the seats of power.

Columbia University

CYRUS H. PEAKE

Skin Deep. The Truth About Beauty Aids—Safe and Harmful. By M. C. Phillips. New York: Vanguard Press, 1934. Pp. xvi, 254. \$2.00.

In these days of the race between the persistent appeal of advertising and the consumers' dollar, there is probably no area in which unfounded claim of copy-writers for advertisements and the findings of reputable scientists are so widely at variance as in the beauty racket. In this volume, the author has assembled, from the files of Consumers' Research, with which he is associated, from the scattered scientific literature, and from laboratory analyses of various products, the objective evidence on face and talcum powders, soaps and creams of all kinds, lotions and rouge, eyelash and hair preparations, astringents and deodorants, and many other similar types of products. Many of them are listed by name; facsimiles of advertisements from leading magazines are reproduced; the testimonial racket is exposed.

Throughout the book, the lack of power to control the situation on the part of the Food and Drugs Administration and the Federal Trade Commission is reiterated time and again in strident and annoyed tones, with reasons for such lack of power focused in bold relief. The volume is a graphic exhibit of the gullibility and blind purchasing habits of milady in search of beauty; she will be disillusioned if she reads it. It is excellent material for courses in economics and consumers' problems. All teachers and students will find in it the necessary amount of sales resistance to balance the well-modulated voices making extravagant "scientific" claims for the latest beauty nostrums over the radio.

The Pageant of Chinese History. By Elizabeth Seeger. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1934. Pp. xvii, 386. \$3.00.

The author of this delightfully written history collected the materials for it while on the staff of the Dalton School in New York. She resolved to write the book after having failed to find a general history, "either good or bad," on the subject for children. Designed to meet the needs of children of twelve years of age, it still remains one of the few adequate books on the subject written for youth and is a substantial pioneering venture in this field. The period covered extends from mythological times through to the Republic and is arranged by chapters according to successive dynasties. The presentation of the material is lively and no child would find it dull. It is animated throughout by a liberal humane point of view.

The chief criticism of the work is the failure to present an account of the origin and development of Chinese civilization based on archæological evidence and the higher criticism of early texts worked out by scholars both Chinese and foreign in recent decades. This evidence discloses a strikingly different account from that set forth in traditional Chinese records upon which the author has based her first seven chapters and more, especially the first three. If the teacher supplements this portion of the book from chapters covering the corresponding period down to the Han dynasty in Professor K. S. Latourette's recent two-volume work, *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*, this erroneous account can be rectified. Indeed, the facts throughout the book should be checked with Latourette's book, as he has based his work throughout on latest researches; and

while not perfect, is now the best general history of China in the English language.

The Romanization of Chinese names is inconsistent and not always according to the traditional Wade System. The key to pronunciation (p. xvii) fails to indicate importance of the apostrophe as indicating the aspirate. Thus Tai is pronounced like Dai while T'ai is pronounced "tie." Kang Hi should be K'ang Hsi. The author seems to have left out all apostrophes.

Consultation with a recognized scholar in the field in the formative stages of the book would have added greatly to the factual accuracy and lasting value of the work. From the point of view of style and form of presentation for the young reader, it is excellent.

Columbia University

CYRUS H. PEAKE

The Growth of Modern England. By Gilbert Slater. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933. Pp. xii, 642. \$4.00.

Gilbert Slater, lately Principal of Ruskin College at Oxford, has re-written and enlarged his *Making of Modern England* under the new title *The Growth of Modern England*. The earlier book was most useful, particularly when supplemented (as the new work should also be) by the same author's *Poverty and the State*, but the new version is greatly superior. It manages, as no other short book does, to give unity to the economic, social, and political developments since the beginning of the eighteenth century. In this way changes and novelties in thought and theory receive convincing background. Exact information in matters often left vague in similar books and surprisingly generous provision of fresh illustrative material bear witness to Dr. Slater's scholarship and convince his readers. Inevitably some of his pages are very crowded but he lightens the effect by ironical comment which is occasionally so subtle as almost to defeat his ends. He incorporates the findings of, and lists, the best recent scholarship. His chapter-headings are sometimes inadequate or misleading, but the table of contents is more detailed and the index better than average. B.

With Padre Kino on the Trail. By Frank C. Lockwood. Tucson: University of Arizona, 1934. Pp. 142, map, illustrations. 50c.

Professor Frank C. Lockwood's enthusiasm for one of the great pioneers of the South West has found expression in this volume. It is a somewhat informal account of Kino and particularly of the plans he made, but never fulfilled, for establishing the land route from Sonora to Upper California. Professor Lockwood has been able to supplement H. E. Bolton's account by a fairly circumstantial recital of Kino's life before he set out for Mexico. He has also made use of some Kino report-letters acquired by the Huntington Library. His interest has naturally been won by the personal charm of his Jesuit hero and by the record, material and otherwise, of his missionary labors. Altogether this monograph is a most welcome and humane introduction to a great man and a valuable supplement in point of view to our hitherto existing picture of him. B.

The Romance of Laborador. By Sir Wilfred Grenfell. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xiv, 329. \$4.00.

In this volume, the author has assembled from the histories and commentaries and from his own experience a great collection of romantic and interesting material about the

land and people to which he has devoted most of his life. His book cannot be recommended as an authoritative history of Labrador, for it does not follow the cautious canons of scholarship, and it tends to emphasize the bright, hopeful side of Labrador. Yet the author's ability to reinforce his lively account from his own life gives an underlying authenticity and the reader can use his own judgment in estimating some of the more provocative conclusions.

B.

Italy's Relations with England, 1896-1905. By James Linus Glanville. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934. Pp. 170. \$1.50.

The development of Italian diplomacy in the Mediterranean basin and its reactions upon English foreign policy in the years between the battle of Adowa and the landing of William II at Tangier are discussed. Before the ascension of Victor Emanuel III to the throne in 1901 Italian diplomacy in the Mediterranean met with severe reverses. From 1901 to 1905 the position of Italy improved, and England paid greater attention to her wishes. The jealousies of European powers increased the prestige of Italy and enabled Italian diplomats to play a more independent rôle in international affairs.

This dissertation contains a very good bibliography and it is well documented. There are 1073 footnotes in the body of the thesis which consists of 144 pages! It is, however, dry and uninteresting. The style is stiff and the content is not always clear. In the opening sentence of the eighth chapter (p. 94) the author confuses the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Colgate University

NATHANIEL P. CLOUGH

Dissolution of the British Parliament, 1832-1931. By Chi Kao Wang. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp. 174. \$2.50.

Dr. Chi Kao Wang has hit upon an exceedingly interesting aspect of the law and custom of the British constitution. He started from Lindsay Rogers' idea that the prerogative of dissolution is the complementary power to cabinet responsibility to the House of Commons and set out to demonstrate the equilibrium with due attention to the recent lessening of the responsibility. His book is an orderly, almost mathematical, analysis of the evidence which he has been able to secure, chiefly from members and biographical materials. Occasionally the chronological to-and-fro within his arbitrary structure is wearing to the reader, but he regularly introduces summaries and occasionally ventures on generalizations, so that close reading conveys the burdens of his themes. A more serious criticism is of his habit of putting too much into footnotes which ought either to have been woven into his text or simply indicated. That practice, combined with thin index and table of contents, seriously diminishes the usefulness of what ought to be a book of reference. Yet Dr. Wang has threaded his way skillfully through a forest of niceties of the law and custom of a largely unwritten constitution and distilled out the conclusions of chapter VI for less industrious scholars than himself. He has chosen his authorities with real discrimination and pursued them pertinaciously. His achievement raises the question of a similar study which should deal with the choice of Prime Ministers and other Cabinet members.

B.

United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches. Edited with introduction by Leo Francis Stock.

American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States, 1847-1867. By Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1933.

Two volumes have recently been produced on the general subject of American relations with the Papal States. The first of these comprises a collection of documents taken from the files of the Department of State, including instructions and despatches to American Ministers at Rome. The period covered, 1848 to 1868, is a fertile field for research in American diplomatic history and contributions of this nature are substantial penetrations into the abyss. A second volume is planned, covering the years from 1797 to 1848 when our relations with the Papal States were of a less formal character. The second work under review is a careful study, drawn primarily from the press, the *Congressional Globe*, and the collection of documents by Dr. Stock. Such opinion as was formulated took its cue from "political considerations of a domestic and partisan nature," as well as from the "personal and political popularity of Pope Pius IX." Difficulties over Protestant worship in Rome, which were perhaps nothing more than a series of misunderstandings, furnished Congress the excuse to strike out appropriations for the maintenance of a diplomatic official at Rome and thus to terminate our relations with the Papal States.

College of the City of New York

A. C. F. WESTPHAL

North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713. By C. B. Judah. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1933. Pp. 183.

Dr. Judah attempts the ungrateful task of rendering order out of the chaos of events and policies concerning the Newfoundland and New England fisheries before the Treaty of Utrecht. He seems to have built considerably on work done by other students at the University of London (although acknowledgment is in the bibliography instead of in his footnotes) and his study anticipates by a few months the monograph by R. G. Lounsbury now in press at Yale. His own study is difficult to evaluate because of its unevenness in historical achievement and in exposition. Some parts of it are written with real distinction while other parts lag or confuse the reader by repetition. Some of the separate chapters, for instance Chapter V, are quite successful studies of very complicated subjects, but overlapping and such a serious fault as the inadequate attention to Nova Scotia robs the book of unity and persuasiveness which it might have had. The truth is that the subject is a very difficult and complex one at parts of which many scholars (not all of whose work is known to Mr. Judah) have been working for years. Some day it may be resolved for us, but Mr. Judah has not done it. His book will be useful for its account of the rivalry of the southwest of England with London, of the anti-colonization campaign against Newfoundland and of the very mixed nature of English merchantilism in the seventeenth century.

B.

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. XIII. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xxii, 674.

This volume begins with "puritanism" and concludes with "service." Like its predecessors, this book is featured by the wise selection and scholarly treatment of topics. Naturally in a work of this character, there is bound to be unevenness. Lack

of space sometimes means abbreviations where quite the opposite should prevail. But the general excellence of the volume smothered the few shortcomings. Nowhere, perhaps, can there be found more admirable summaries of the putting out system, race, railroads, rate regulations, the reformation, religion and religious institutions, the renaissance, reparations, retail trade, revolution, roads, Roman law, romanticism, rubber, science and scientific management, than in this volume. Many of the shorter articles, biographical and otherwise, merit praise. In this respect, Merle E. Curti's sketch of Robert Rantoul, Jr., the American reformer and politician, and Melvin McKnight's treatment of serfdom are typical. The bibliographical statements following each article add greatly to the value of the volume.

H. J. CARMAN

Columbia University

Economic History of the People of the United States. By Fred Albert Shannon. New York: Macmillan Company, 1934. Pp. xi, 942. \$3.75.

The writing of textbooks on American economic history has been greatly facilitated in recent years by the appearance of many specialized studies, but nevertheless the same old problems persist—the problems of what material to include or exclude and their logical arrangement. Professor Shannon has given us a comprehensive volume (carrying the narrative down almost to the day of publication) which lays more stress on labor, monopolistic practices, and agriculture than is generally found in texts—the proportion of space devoted to the period since the Civil War is unusually large.

By writing a large book, the author has managed to put into it almost everything that one reasonably could expect to find in a text. But the seeker after perfection will always find something with which to be dissatisfied in a manual. Why, for example, was the question of the relationship between railroads and land settlement (and speculation) not treated more fully? Is it informing in an economic history to use the phraseology of political history, Part II "The Period of Dominant Sectionalism, 1789-1865"? In this section is a good chapter on "The Seeds of Modern Industrialism," but why is it here instead of serving as an introduction to the next Part III "The Rise of Capitalism"? Was there no better place to include statistics on urban population than at the end of a chapter on "The Settling of the Far West"? If the reviewer has singled out what he considers flaws, it is his way of pointing to the tremendous obstacles that beset the writer of manuals. Even if Professor Shannon has not always successfully hurdled these obstacles, he has on the whole kept his footing, and the issue has been a good text, brightened by a liberalism that descends from an older Kansas populism.

College of the City of New York

MICHAEL KRAUS

In the Dark Backward. By Henry W. Nevins. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1934. Pp. xi, 282. \$2.50.

The distinguished British travelling journalist, Henry W. Nevins, has in a most interesting way mingled his experience and his learning in the seventeen episodes of *In the Dark Backward*. His technique has been to allow his presence at some storied spot like Trebizond, or Stambul, or Actium, to evoke a version of the great event associated with the place. Fortunately, his scholarship is good so that old and new are alike enjoyable and the blend will add savour to well-known history for many. Inevitably, the chapters are of unequal merit, but two or three, as for instance the

one about Byron, are memorable. Those who enjoyed his preceding three volumes of reminiscences will be glad to place this fourth beside them on their shelves.

B.

The Two Americas. An Interpretation. By Stephen Duggan. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. 269. \$1.75.

A well-informed author, Director of the International Institute of Education, presents in this title an interpretation of the two Americas based on first-hand contacts and study. In the first three chapters, "Backgrounds," "The Resulting Civilizations," and "Social Institutions," comparisons and contrasts are woven about the influences of nations as colonizers, climate and natural resources, racial mixtures and attending problems, and such institutions as the family, the school, the church, and government. The approach is in terms of causes rather than resulting differences. Later chapters deal with economic conditions and changes and relations between nations, which have been treated in greater detail by Haring, Normano, Jones, and others. The volume is written in a readable, non-technical style; an impartial and tactful balancing of differences between the two Americas differentiates the author's treatment from the easy generalizations of Keyserling, the impressionism of Morand, and the profundities of Frank. A careful reading of the volume should help to achieve the author's aim, the elimination of some of the misunderstandings between the inhabitants of the two Americas which have been developing during the past century.

Elements of Rural Sociology (Revised Edition). By Newell L. Sims. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1934. Pp. xv, 718. \$3.75.

A revision of a well-received textbook, first published in 1928, in which the principal changes include a new chapter, "The Social Process in Rural-Urban Civilization"; a shift in position of the section on rural communities, ancient and modern, to the early part of the volume following the introduction; and the inclusion of more recent statistical data to replace obsolete data. Certain other sections of the volume have been rewritten, but the recent major changes in the social and economic order as they profoundly affect rural life seem to be omitted or treated inadequately in the revised edition.

A Syllabus of the History of Chinese Civilization and Culture (Second Edition). By L. C. Goodrich and H. C. Fenn. New York City (570 Lexington Avenue): China Society of America, Inc., 1934. Pp. 51. 75c.

Under a topical and chronological arrangement, Goodrich has listed the most authoritative studies available in English and French covering the whole field of China's history from paleolithic and neolithic man down to modern times. Art, philosophy, literature, and education are covered as well as social and economic conditions, and political and administrative developments. In addition to the special monographs cited, there is at the end a select list of works dealing with China numbering more than 175 in all. Mr. Fenn has contributed nine maps illustrating the development of the Empire through history and a carefully worked out chart listing in parallel columns the chief features of Chinese civilization. An additional column lists, for comparative purposes, outstanding events in Western history.

This syllabus can be unqualifiedly recommended to all teachers and scholars. Its

use will make it possible for those who have long wished to do so, but have hesitated because of the lack of a competent bibliographical guide, to give a course in Chinese history. This syllabus admirably fills that gap. Librarians will also find it useful in building up an essential minimum collection in Chinese history.

C. H. P.

Germany: The National Socialist State. A Study Course. By Esther Caukin Brunauer. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1934. Pp. 63. 50c.

In this syllabus the author, after study and observation in Germany, has assembled materials in the form of outlines and bibliographies, divided into eight sections covering the period from the beginning of the German Republic through 1933. The rise of the National Socialists to power is traced; their economic and social policies and the totalitarian state are outlined in considerable detail, frequently with brief excerpts translated from the German. The references for each section and the bibliography are limited largely to the periodical literature and titles in English. Instructors at the secondary-school and college levels will find the syllabus a useful guide; it will also be very serviceable for students and general readers.

Our Changing Social Order: An Introduction to Sociology. By Ruth Wood Gavian, A. A. Gray, and Ernest Rutherford Groves, Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. xxi, 577. \$1.80.

The basic purpose of this textbook, intended for the twelfth grade, is the selection of materials "which will be valuable to the individual student in his own adjustments to society." The authors assert that problems cannot be studied to advantage detached from culture, or divorced from human nature and needs of the individual. The book is organized in terms of nine units and twenty-seven chapters. Beginning with the development of culture, and how it molds human nature, attention is then centered in the fourth unit on the means and agencies such as objective thinking, recreation, the family, and budgeting by which individuals may improve their personal adjustments. The remainder of the volume deals with sixteen social, economic, and political problems which "will satisfy the average course in problems of American democracy." Suggestions to teachers and pupils, and an appendix including a glossary and a bibliography are provided.

A Selected List of Fifty Books: Building for International Attitudes in Children. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1934. Pp. 8.

A useful list of annotated titles, arranged for little children, for those of "the between age," and for older boys and girls.

A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell. By Wilbur C. Abbot. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929.

A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell was reviewed in these columns (XXI, 35). An additional index, listing periodicals, publications of societies, new titles in series, and other titles published during the intervening years, together with certain addenda, corrigenda, and delenda, has been published recently in pamphlet form, with the pagination as a continuation of that in the volume. Owners of the volume may obtain copies of the pamphlet without charge on application to the publishers.

Among the Current Magazines

GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS

Ballagh, Thomas C. "Bargains in Tariffs," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (February, 1935), 192-201.

The aftermath of the London Economic Conference is that nations are bargaining for mutual trade concessions; President Roosevelt is offering great reductions in tariffs to countries which agree to take more American products.

Beard, Charles A. "National Politics and the Next War," *Scribner's*, XCVII (February, 1935), 65-70.

Judging by the aftermath of the two previous Democratic upheavals, the present one will also be followed by a foreign war, possibly a Pacific war.

Beazley, Sir Raymond. "The Saar," *Contemporary Review*, CXLVII (January, 1935), 19-24.

As the Saar is essentially German, the policy of the Hitlerites will determine the future of that industrial center; the hopes of the German cause depend on the moderation of the attitude to the divergent elements in the Saar.

Bendiner, Marvin Robert. "Corruption in the World War," *American Mercury*, XXXVI (February, 1935), 225-234.

This article, in the "Thievery of the Republic" series, sets forth facts and figures from Congressional investigations and other sources on fat contracts, swindles, and graft.

Bernal, J. D. "If Industry Gave Sciences a Chance," *Harper's*, CLXX (February, 1935), 257-268.

The full development of physical and domestic sciences is retarded by an obsolescent financial and political control of their possibilities.

Brooks, William E. "Arthurdale—A New Chance," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLV (February, 1935), 196-204.

Arthurdale in West Virginia is an experiment in communal farming, the subsistence homestead.

Bruchhausen, P. "German Colonial Propaganda in Africa," *Contemporary Review*, CXLVII (January, 1935), 77-85.

The African Germans have shared in the national revival in the Fatherland, and while there is as yet no movement aimed towards Germany, there is an effort to bring about an economic accord of mutual advantage.

Carlson, Oliver. "The Revolution in Cotton," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (February, 1935), 129-136.

A new era is opening for the cotton grower through the mechanization of cotton, which will free planter, cropper, and tenant from the land.

Chase, Stuart. "Our Capacity to Produce," *Harper's*, CLXX (February, 1935), 343-352.

The question of capacity to produce in the power age is dynamic and cannot be measured by comparisons with other years; the determining factor is not the static plant but the dynamic demand. If the depression continues long enough, living standards may be raised and economic security established by the rise of new psychological forces.

Dodge, Daniel. "An Empire in Hock: The Story of the Van Sweringen Railroads," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (February, 1935), 160-174.

A case study, with facts and figures, in the manipulation and control of 27,000 miles of railroads with the aids of bankers, based on the theme song, "Borrow, borrow, pay tomorrow." An important article on a subject largely ignored by newspapers and magazines.

Dunn, Samuel O. "A Few Facts on the Theory of Abundance," *Scribner's*, XCVII (February, 1935), 96-100.

The theory of abundance is not thoroughly understood and, therefore, cannot be urged in favor of or against our present economic situation. In the past, we have produced in abundance and, with readjustment of conditions, can do so again.

Gauss, Christian. "Youth Moves Toward New Standards," *Scribner's*, XCVII (February, 1935), 91-95.

The new youth is out for self-preservation, which means the creation of a new social order based on ideals fairer to themselves than are those they discard.

Hart, Liddell. "Would Another War End Civilization?" *Harper's*, CLXX (February, 1935), 312-322.

Counteracting agents would prevent the wholesale destruction of cities by poison gas, and the chaos of organization would cripple air forces; the next war may produce the collapse of the attack before the collapse of civilization.

Herbst, Josephine. "The Farmer Looks Ahead," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (February, 1935), 212-219.

The condition of the farmer is still desperate since relief has solved only a small part of his difficulty and that only temporarily. The only planned economy that will help him is that which considers the basic needs of an entire population.

Huddleston, Sisley. "The French Crisis Continues," *Contemporary Review*, CXLVII (January, 1935), 11-18.

The present government has devoted itself to constitutional rather than administrative reforms, with the result that the peril to democratic institutions is as grave as it was a year ago.

Jackson, Brinckerhoff. "A Fuehrer Comes to Leichtenstein," *Harper's*, CLXX (February, 1935), 298-310.

The Utopian conditions formerly existing in this little principality have been disturbed and the welfare of the people altered by their efforts to support the Hitler regime.

Johnson, Gerald W. "An Excuse for Universities," *Harper's*, CLXX (February, 1935), 369-376.

Graduate study is at present the storm center of most universities; highly original teachers, necessary to inspire original work, are usually intellectually eccentric and thus feared by administrative heads. Larger endowments are needed as the income from student fees have fallen off in the last five years; doubt as to the value of a doctorate either to the scholar or to society is the cause for the thinning of numbers.

Knight, Bruce Winton. "How a Navy Kills People," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (February, 1935), 137-144.

The navy not only furnishes the opportunity for general slaughter in times of war, by bringing combatants within fighting range, but it prevents the movement of food supplies and thus works havoc on non-combatants.

Meston, Rt. Hon. Lord. "The Future of India," *Contemporary Review*, CXLVII (January, 1935).

India must be given self-government as a justification of the British policy for that people, and as the logical outcome of her administration.

Miner, Ruth M. and Perkins, Frances. "The Child Labor Amendment," *Forum and Century*, XCIII (February, 1935), 67-73.

Children are already sufficiently guarded against industrial exploitation by existing laws, says Miss Miner. Secretary Perkins holds that the state laws are not uniform and are not efficiently administered.

Morgan, Barbara Spofford. "Swastika," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXIV (February, 1935), 143-150.

The revolt in Germany is not against materialism but against the mechanization of society.

Sabatier, Frederick. "The Effects of the Franco-Russian Reconciliation," *Contemporary Review*, CXLVII (January, 1935), 38-45.

The significance of the Franco-Russian *entente* is diplomatic and social rather than military, since the accord gives hope that it will enable the Soviet Union to return to a mode of life less exceptional than it is today.

Sass, Herbert Ravenel. "Up From the South," *Sewanee Review*, XLIII (January-March, 1935), 8-20.

From the Old South may come the conception of a social order which will destroy the travesty on democracy, experienced from 1865-1933.

Soloveytschik, George. "Democracy in Sweden," *Contemporary Review*, CXLVII (January, 1935), 46-54.

An intelligent opposition, independent and national in character, and a vigorous industrialism are the positive factors in the efficient functioning of democratic institutions in Sweden.

Symes, Lillian. "California, There She Stands!" *Harper's*, CLXX (February, 1935), 360-368.

In the November elections, Sinclair was defeated not so much by any part of his program as by the fear on the part of industrialists of pro-labor leadership in a time of economic conflict.

Villard, Oswald Garrison. "Al Smith—Latest Phase," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (February, 1935), 145-153.

Resentment over the action at the Convention of 1932 plus the fact that he has lost his great secretary and agent, Mrs. Moskowitz, have completely eclipsed the political career of Governor Smith.

"Radio: The Fifth Estate," *The Annals* (American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3457 Walnut Street, Philadelphia), CLXXVII (January, 1935), 1-219 (whole No.).

Eleven articles on the broadcasting systems of the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, and the U.S.S.R., are followed by another series dealing with services in ten areas from music to advertising, and a third series of eight articles on current questions such as regulation, freedom of speech, relations with the press, and influence on international understanding. This number also includes a supplement containing five addresses on the Balkans and the Far East, as well as the Book Department.

Current Publications Received

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Calder, Isabel MacBeath. *The New Haven Colony*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934. Pp. vi, 301. \$3.50.
- Fox, Dixon Ryan, ed. *Sources of Culture in the Middle West. Backgrounds versus Frontier*. New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1934. Pp. 110. \$1.00.
- Larsen, Arthur J., ed. *Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1858-1865. Crusader and Feminist*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1934. Pp. ix, 327. \$2.50.
- Pound, Arthur. *The Golden Earth. The Story of Manhattan's Landed Wealth*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1935. Pp. x, 316. \$3.50. Illus.
- Willson, Beckles. *Friendly Relations*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1934. Pp. viii, 350. \$4.00.
- Wrong, George M. *Canada and the American Revolution. The Disruption of the First British Empire*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1935. Pp. xii, 478. \$5.00.

EUROPEAN AND WORLD HISTORY

- Cruikshank, Earl Fee. *Morocco at the Parting of the Ways. The Story of Native Protection to 1885*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935. Pp. xxv, 238. \$2.50.
- Landman, J. H. *Since 1914*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1934. Pp. 288. \$1.50.
- Mills, Dorothy. *The Middle Ages*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935. Pp. xvii, 360. \$2.50.
- Phipps, Ramsay Weston. *The Armies of the First French Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 325. \$6.00.
- Ward, Reginald Somerset. *Maximilien Robespierre. A Study in Deterioration*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xi, 359. \$6.50.

ECONOMICS

- Buck, Norman S., ed. *Survey of Contemporary Economics*. New York: Thos. Nelson & Sons, 1934. Pp. xvi, 846. \$3.00.
- Mills, Ogden L. *What of Tomorrow?* New York: Macmillan Co., 1935. Pp. 151. \$2.00.
- Patterson, S. Howard. *Social Aspects of Industry. A Survey of Labor Problems and Causes of Industrial Unrest. (Second Edition.)* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935. Pp. xviii, 578.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

- Hall, Jerome. *Theft, Law and Society*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935. Pp. xxxv, 360. \$3.50.
- Hill, Norman L. and Stoke, Harold W. *The Background of European Governments*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935. Pp. xv, 604.
- Dell, Robert. *Germany Unmasked*. London: Martin Hopkinson, Ltd., 1934. Pp. 271. 5/-
- Hatch, Louis Clinton and Shoup, Earl L. *A History of the Vice-Presidency of the United States*. New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1934. Pp. viii, 437. \$3.50.
- Lasswell, Harold D. *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935. Pp. vii, 307. \$3.00.
- Parmelee, Maurice. *Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal-Democratic State*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1934. Pp. xii, 430. \$3.00.
- Wheeler-Bennett, John W. *The Pipe Dream of Peace. The Story of the Collapse of Disarmament*. New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1935. Pp. xvi, 302. \$3.00.

SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

- Fairchild, Henry Pratt, ed. *Survey of Contemporary Sociology*. New York: Thos. Nelson & Sons, 1934. Pp. xii, 766. \$3.00.
- Kennedy, Aileen E. and Breckinridge, S. P. *The Ohio Poor Law and Its Administration (Social Service Monographs, No. 22)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xii, 233. \$2.00.

Nimkoff, M. F. *The Family*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1934. Pp. x, 526.

Phillips, M. C. *Skin Deep. The Truth About Beauty Aids—Safe and Harmful*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1934. Pp. xvi, 254. \$2.00.

Queen, Stuart A.; Bodenhafer, Walter B.; and Harper, Ernest B. *Social Organization and Disorganization*. New York: Thos. Y. Crowell Co., 1935. Pp. xii, 653. \$3.50.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SYLLABI

Trotter, R. G. *Canadian History. A Syllabus and Guide to Reading*. (New and Enlarged Edition.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1934. Pp. xiv, 193. \$1.75.

MISCELLANEOUS

Eastman, Fred. *Plays of American Life*. New York: Samuel French, 1934. Pp. viii, 258. \$1.50.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

Kaessmann, Beta; Manakee, Harold Randall; and Wheeler, Joseph L. (Gambrill, J. Montgomery, ed.) *My Maryland. Her Story for Three Hundred Years. For Boys and Girls*. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1934. Pp. vii, 424. \$1.32.

SECONDARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

Breasted, James Henry. *Ancient Times. A History of the Early World*. (Second Edition. Revised and Largely Rewritten.) Boston: Ginn & Co., 1935. Pp. xiii, 823. \$2.00.

McAndrew, William, ed. *Social Studies. An Orientation Handbook for High-School Pupils*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935. Pp. viii, 465. \$1.60.

COLLEGE TEXTBOOKS

Taylor, Horace and the Columbia Associates. *Contemporary Problems in the United States*. 1934-35 Edition. Vol. II. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935. Pp. vii, 545.

Whitbeck, R. H. and Finch, V. C. *Economic Geography*. (Third Edition.) New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935. Pp. x, 565. \$3.50.

MATERIAL IN PAPER COVER

ECONOMICS

League of Nations. *World Economic Survey, Third Year, 1933-34*. New York: World Peace Foundation, 1934. Pp. 365. \$1.50.

National Child Labor Committee. *The Farmer—and The Federal Child Labor Amendment*. New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1934. Pp. 8.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Eighth Annual Session of the Institute of Public Affairs. *Proceedings. Part II, Round Table on County Government*. Bulletin of the University of Georgia, XXXIV, No. 10 (July, 1934). Athens: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Georgia, 1934. Pp. 100. \$1.50.

Pollock, James Kerr. *German Election Administration*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp. 71. 50c.

SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Thorntwaite, C. Warren. *Internal Migration in the United States. Study of Population Redistribution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. Pp. x, 52. \$1.00.

TEACHING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Hoy, Alice, ed. *The Teaching of History and Civics in Victorian Secondary Schools*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press in association with Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. 78. 2/6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SYLLABI

Brunauer, Esther Caukin. *Germany: The National Socialist State. A Study Course*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1934. Pp. 63. 50c.